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THE MAKING OF WESTERN EUROPE

'Seventeen hundred years ago, and seven thousand miles to the east, a legionary stood, perhaps, upon the wall of Antoninus, and looked northward toward the mountains of the Picts. For all the interval of time and space, I, when I looked from the cliff-house on the broad Pacific, was that man's heir and analogue: each of us standing on the verge of the Roman Empire, or, as we now call it, Western Civilisation.'

R. L. STEVENSON,
The Wrecker, Chap. viii.

THE MAKING OF WESTERN EUROPE

BEING AN ATTEMPT
TO TRACE THE FORTUNES OF

THE CHILDREN OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY C. R. L. FLETCHER

FORMERLY FELLOW OF ALL SOULS AND MAGDALEN COLLEGES, OXFORD

VOL. II.—THE FIRST RENAISSANCE
1000-1190 A.D.

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LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1914

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PREFACE

[*Written in the Spring of* 1914, *before the Great War began.*]

IN the present volume, a sequel to my 'Dark Ages' (John Murray, London, 1912), I have tried to take the story of the 'Children of the Roman Empire' in Western Europe down to the eve of the Third Crusade, and thus to bridge the gap between the gloomy close of the first Millennium of the Christian Era, and the brilliant life of the Thirteenth Century which that Crusade ushered in. The first sixty years of this period are both dull and obscure, but the ensuing hundred and thirty are of supreme importance in the shaping of the Nations of Western Europe. It is not an easy period of which to treat. Turn whither we will, the details of early mediæval life, of all that can bring the Past really home to us, will elude our grasp. They elude equally the specialist in chronology or in diplomatic, and the imaginative historian. The former can tell his readers that Kaiser Frederick was at Würzburg or at Besançon on a particular day, because he can produce a charter signed by him on that day and at that place (always supposing that he can prove the said charter to be genuine); but he cannot always explain why his hero was on the Main or the Doubs at the given date; he sometimes, in a word, fails to see the wood because he discovers such an infinite variety of trees. On the other hand, the writer who can bring a powerful imagination to bear upon the past can draw a picture of a beautiful wood and a great number of fine trees, each in its place; but his readers cannot always feel sure that it is a correct picture. For myself, I confess that the mediæval chroniclers, on whom I have

chiefly relied, seem to show me at best a dim vision of 'men as trees walking.'

It is not possible, for instance, to get any description of the lines, the rigging, the crew, or the tonnage, of the ships in which Bohemond's Crusaders crossed the Adriatic, nor to learn how their horses were fed and watered on the passage, how many hours it took to land them, what was the condition of the Via Egnatia along which they marched, in what proportions they stole or paid for their food. But these things, and their like, are what I most desire to know, and perhaps my only excuse for writing is that I desire very fervently to know them. We can recover, perhaps, a little more detail about the daily life of a monk than about that of a knight; but that which we can learn (with the exception of the fact that he frequently went to sleep in church) seems to us almost irreconcilable with human nature as we now conceive it. I will even go further and say that the very outline of the great movements, and even the traditions, of this remote age have come down to us faint and blurred. It is small consolation to reflect that our descendants, half a thousand years hence, will most probably be equally at a loss to understand us, their ancestors; they will no doubt be able to follow something of the details of our daily life, but how will they conceive the mental attitude of people who allowed female savages to burn their property with impunity, and who not only tolerated but actually organised such absurdities as Party Government?

But, in spite of these difficulties, these remote descendants, if they are worth anything, will try hard to understand us, and we ought to try to understand our remote ancestors. I wish very much that the students at our Universities could be brought back to the investigation of, or at least to an interest in, the Middle Ages. In my own University these have of late years been too much neglected in favour of more modern periods of history. Fresh masses of 'Statutes and Documents' of the most recent centuries are continually being added to the curriculum of the Oxford School of History, while the

study of 'Origins' is openly and avowedly passed over. It is all part and parcel of the utilitarian spirit which is now invading education in all its branches, and leading young persons to drop such studies as would strengthen their brain-cells. Yet to the very people who are making and sanctioning these changes at Oxford, many of them my intimate friends, some of them formerly and still my teachers, I acknowledge warmly my own great obligation; and, the more vehemently they repudiate me as a son, the more closely I, unlike Mr Gibbon, will cling to them as to a Mother—nay, as to a Mothers' Union.

In matters of genealogy, chronology, and topography, I have taken as my main guides Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire, de Généalogie, et de Chronologie*, 3 vols., Leyden, 1888; Ottokar Lorenz, *Genealogisches Handbuch*, 3rd edition, Stuttgart, 1908; Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age*, 3 vols., Paris, 1905; and August Potthast, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters*, 2 vols., 2nd edition, Berlin, 1896.

I have to give special thanks to Mr H. W. C. Davis of Balliol College, to Mr G. Baskerville of Keble College, to Professor Ramsay Muir of Balliol College and the University of Manchester, to my kind publisher, Mr John Murray, for their revision of my proof-sheets, and for many valuable suggestions, and to Miss Dorothy Tyndale for her excellent help towards the Index.

C. R. L. F.

OXFORD, *May* 1914.

Postscript.—I let the text of this book (which was already in pages in the spring of 1914) stand, partly because of the pressure of other work which the war has thrown upon me, but more as a penance, to be imposed upon myself, for the hard things which I have written in it about the Slavonic nations, and for the high praise that

I have given to the efforts of the mediæval emperors to destroy or Germanise the Slavs. I am well aware that my readers will condemn me severely for much of this language, the fruit of the tradition in which my own generation was educated. But the events of the last few months have removed the scales from many eyes, and no reader will condemn me more severely than I now condemn myself.

C. R. L. F.

ETON COLLEGE, *October* 1914.

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ARGUMENT OF CHAPTER I

The difference between Nationalities and Nation-States. Before the close of the twelfth century, Western Europe is really grouped into Nationalities, and three of these, France, England, and the Spanish kingdoms, are in a fair way to become Nation-States. The other two, Germany and Italy, are well-marked Nationalities, but cannot become Nation-States. Not feudalism, but the Papacy, which exploited both feudal anarchy and civic particularism for its own ends, was responsible for their failure. Reasons for the success of the Papacy, the chief of which is the assumption of a mandate from on high. This mandate was not universally accepted; we see elements of a First, or Twelfth Century Renaissance, which in some ways anticipated the greater movement of the Fifteenth Century. There was also some possibility of an earlier 'Reformation' in a Protestant direction; there were learned heretics and there were popular heretics. The Church just managed to curb the former, and began to persecute the latter. There was no alliance between heresy and Nationalism, although both worked against the Papacy. But the gloomy close of the tenth century, with which our period begins, gave little prospect of what was coming.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

"OUR mediæval history will go astray, our history of Germany and Italy will go far astray, unless we can suffer communities to acquire and lose the character of states somewhat easily and insensibly. We must not thrust our modern State-concept upon the reluctant material."[1] I do not want, in the teeth of this dictum of my great master Maitland, to thrust a 'State-concept' upon the reluctant material of Germany, Italy, France, and Spain; but I want to find a nation-concept in their peoples, and not to leave them till they have got, each of them, a pretty clear idea that they are separate nations. I shall perhaps be told that this is an overbold attempt, doomed to certain failure in the instance of Italy, and to probable failure in the instances of Germany and France as well. I shall be told especially that, in breaking off the narrative of the fortunes of Germany and Italy at the date of the Third Crusade, I have chosen exactly the wrong time; that if I had continued it even till 1250, there might perhaps be something to be said for my view; that the Sicilian marriage-treaty of 1184 had expunged the Alps from the political map of Europe quite as much as Louis XIV. expunged the Pyrenees. The last comparison is quite just, because the Pyrenees entirely refused to disappear at the bidding of the *Grand Monarque;* and I shall hope to show that the Alps were equally firmly rooted when Frederick Barbarossa went off to Asia Minor. The two great Hohenstaufen emperors

[1] F. W. Maitland, Preface to Gierke's *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, Maitland's translation, Cambridge, 1900.

who succeeded him might indeed wear a Sicilian crown in addition to their German and Lombard head-dresses; but, by that date, every time that an emperor put on even his Lombard crown he set his German throne rocking. And the attempt to put on the Sicilian crown as well ruined the German kingship, while the Lombard revolt against Frederick I., and the peace which ended it, had both been firm steps towards the evolution of an Italian nation.

With equal insistence I shall be told that, in breaking off the thread of French history at the death of Louis VII., I have stopped just short of the reign of the first king who had both nation-concept and state-concept for France; and, again, that I might at least have taken the story of Mediæval Spain down to the deaths of St Ferdinand and of James the Conqueror. There is much more truth in these allegations than in that which may be made against my treatment of Germany and Italy; the conquest of Normandy in 1205 was indeed the greatest step of France towards nationality, and was yet to be made, and the subjugation of the South after the Albigensian Crusades was needed before anything resembling a map of modern France could be drawn. Again, until the Moors had been driven behind the Sierra Nevada, the richest lands of the Peninsula had not been won for the crown of Castile; until Valencia was in Christian hands Aragon was but half a power. But I can plead that I do not take my leave of France, Castile, or Aragon until the consciousness of nationality in their peoples has been so far developed that the realisation of unity, within something like their later geographical limits, has become a practical certainty for a date not very far distant.

Finally, I shall be told that, throughout the following pages, I have made too little allowance for the feudal spirit, common in one manifestation or another to all Western European countries, and itself the very antithesis of nationality. Is it not possible that the received view of this antithesis may be a somewhat exaggerated one? No doubt the feudal spirit at its keenest rejected all tie to any centre except the tie of homage, which is very far

from being as close a tie as is allegiance. But we must remember that it did thoroughly accept the homage-tie as the very basis of society. And, except upon the borders of two countries where its exponents could exploit a duality of homage for their own benefit, homage had to be rendered to a national king, who also had a claim, if one not easily enforced, to a great many people's allegiance within certain national borders. And homage was very soon going to be forced, was indeed beginning to be forced into the deeper, wider, and more enduring groove of allegiance. Moreover, the most isolated manorial lord of a single tower was bound to be influenced by his environment; by the national language which was taking shape all round him; by his own dependents; by the nurses of his infancy, the gamekeepers who had taught him to shoot, the peasants who paid him rents and tolls, the artisans and traders of the neighbouring town who forged his armour, who sold him salt, and cloth, and millstones; by his bailiffs and his men-at-arms; by the very pedlars whom he occasionally fleeced as they passed through his domain—all of which classes were beginning, perhaps before himself, to develop a consciousness of nationality. On a bigger scale, even the most dangerous feudal princes would find themselves, often sorely against their will, becoming nationalised by corresponding influences of environment. We can see, in spite of their churchmanship, a similar spirit reflected in the chroniclers of the twelfth century. Under the stock phrases about *unus pastor, unum ovile*, each according to his birthplace illustrates the growth of the national idea, the contempt of the rugged German for French statecraft or Italian cunning, the French or the Italian disgust at German barbarism; in Castile the contempt of the Castilian for everyone who was not of his race and country. The facts that life was much simpler, population in proportion to the cultivated area much smaller, the whole duty of man much more narrowly defined, must not lead us to assume that all Western peoples were necessarily like each other, or that Spanish knights and peasants thought much the same

thoughts as North German knights and peasants. There was, however, one influence, and that the greatest and most all-pervading, which was, in the period before us, actively and openly pulling in the opposite direction.

For this nation-making was being carried on in the very teeth of a power that became in the twelfth century the mightiest thing that Europe had seen since the age of the Antonines, a power that had a Europe-concept of its own, independent of any territorial boundaries, diametrically opposed to the nation-concept, and at last fundamentally opposed to that lay sovereignty which is the most powerful factor in the making of nations. The Papacy from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII. set itself, usually from the highest motives but often by the most unscrupulous means, to hammer and batter down everything that stood in the path of its own autocracy. One of such things was the throne of the shadowy but Holy 'Roman' Empire, which had descended in some mysterious way to the King who also sat upon the throne of Germany, and occasionally on the throne of Lombardy. You would have expected the popes to support this imperial throne, itself the very negation of separate nationalities, by every means at their disposal, and to aid its holders to extend their claims over every state that had ever formed part of the real Roman Empire. Unfortunately for Germany and Italy, but most fortunately for the other three Children, France, Spain, and England, these two theoretical allies, Pope and Emperor, quarrelled badly in 1076, and hardly ceased quarrelling until it was certain that Mediæval Germany and Mediæval Italy, though they could not be prevented from becoming Nationalities, could never become National States.[1] It is with this great quarrel of Pope and Emperor that we shall have most to do in the present volume, and that is why I shall begin my text by treating as one subject, and at much greater length than anything else, the histories of Germany and Italy.

[1] A National State is, a Nationality is not, necessarily circumscribed within a definite territorial area, and necessarily subject to one Sovereign Government.

From the commencement of the quarrel the Papacy, infinitely reinvigorated by the greatness of the issues at stake, proceeded further to interfere in the temporal as well as in the spiritual concerns of the other three Children, proceeded, in fact, to attack the foundations of all lay power and sovereignty. It is not only in the statements of such *intransigeants* as Gregory VII. that we find the claim of the supremacy of the Church over all governments. To him, indeed, all civil government was rooted in sin and was the work of the Devil, and he could find warrant in St Augustine for something not unlike this doctrine. One expects such views from Gregory, for he was engaged in a desperate quarrel with the strongest monarchy of his age; and, the more one gets to know him, the more one learns that he is certain to exaggerate his own case. He knew well, as modern politicians know, that, in the appeal from the enlightened few to the ignorant many, it is almost impossible to exaggerate too much. But even the philosopher, John of Salisbury, willing as he is to admit *a* divine origin for temporal power,[1] develops Gregory's principles scientifically;[2] 'the priesthood being the soul, rules the rest of the *respublica*, and has to govern, to erect, and to depose its head; the Church has both swords, but she uses the 'sword of blood' by the hands of the prince'; John actually heads a chapter, '*Quod princeps est minister sacerdotum et minor eis.*' No nation was strong enough wholly to resist such doctrine or the interference that was the result of it, for it was based upon the assumption of a mandate from on high, in which all, or very nearly all, believed, or were obliged to profess belief. But the nations which made the best terms with the depositary of this mandate, France and England, became the foremost National States, while those which made no successful terms at all, Germany and Italy, remained mere Nationalities. Soon after the catastrophe of Germany the

[1] *Polycraticus*, iv., 1. I quote throughout from the edition of C. C. J. Webb, Oxford, 1909.

[2] *Ibid.*, iv., 1-4, 6; v., 2-6; vi., 21.

Papal doctrine was presented, in the most reasonable shape that it is capable of wearing, by Thomas Aquinas in his *De Regimine Principum*, and in this form was, one might almost say, adopted as a cardinal point of the Catholic Faith.

I am obliged to qualify the universality of the belief throughout Western Europe that the popes were the sole depositaries of the mandate from on high, because in the twelfth century there were several grave breaches made between the joints of their spiritual harness. We owe, I think, to Dr Rashdall[1] the clearest indication of the fact that the learning of that period led to a real 'Renaissance,' and very nearly anticipated that 'Protestant Reformation' which is usually affiliated to the later fifteenth-century Renaissance. Corresponding factors were at work at both dates; there was heresy in abundance, both among the learned, and, in a few regions, among the ignorant people;[2] there was in the Paris of Abélard's day a great deal of independent study of the Scriptures, much questioning of the received text of them, more questioning of the traditions of the Church; there was a continued and steady recovery, in Latin versions it is true, of much of the texts of Aristotle;[3] there was an almost humanistic study of Latin;[4] there was, from the days of Berengar of Tours, very much questioning of the doctrine of the Sacrament, which had not yet been crystallised into its most crudely materialistic form; and finally there was, especially at the date of the Papal Schism of 1130, a good deal of

[1] *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. i., chap. ii.

[2] We must not overstate this last; popular heresies, coming from the East *via* the Balkans, got some hold on North Italy and a good deal of hold on Southern France; but in the rest of Europe the mob was monastically-minded, except for some occasional, if very fierce, outbreaks of irreligion in the Rhenish cities and in the little communes of Northern France.

[3] The best account of what parts of Aristotle were known, and in what translations, before 1180, is to be found in Webb's preface to the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury, p. xxiii. *sqq.*

[4] Especially at the School of Chartres, where John of Salisbury was a student.

contempt[1] expressed for the persons and pretensions of popes.[2]

Some of this spirit of revolt in the spheres of religion and learning spilled itself over into the political sphere also. The popes, though they retained very little actual temporal sovereignty from the Carolingian and Ottonian donations, did retain some, and did in the eleventh and twelfth centuries add considerably to their estates.[3] But there was one place in which their sovereignty never went for a single decade unquestioned, and that was the most important place of all—Rome. The years that popes between 1084 and 1180 spent in Rome were few compared to those they spent in exile from it. The revolts against their power in that city, beginning merely as those of hooligan nobles, ended by acquiring, with the coming of the great political heretic Arnold of Brescia in the middle of the twelfth century, a character more than communal, almost democratic and republican. Arnold was the pupil

[1] For the literary side of this contempt, see the Latin Poems, commonly attributed to Walter Mapes or Map, edited by T. Wright for the Camden Society, 1841, and the same author's and editor's *De Nugis Curialium*, 1850. Map studied in Paris about 1154-1160, and died Archdeacon of Oxford about 1210. He is never weary of satirising the Papacy and its supporters, the Cistercian monks.

[2] I have purposely omitted to classify, among these symptoms of Renaissance, Reformation, or revolt, the revival of the study of Roman Law in Provence as well as at Pavia, Ravenna, and Bologna (which we must date as early as the last quarter of the eleventh century), because this Civil Law was at first the parent, before it became the foe, of the Canon Law. No doubt the study sharpened intellects, and no doubt the jurists of the twelfth century, and at least one, Peter Crassus, of the eleventh, were generally the supporters of Emperor against Pope, but they were looking wholly backwards, as jurists are apt to do; 'they reason,' says Professor Vînogradoff (*Roman Law in Mediæval Europe:* Harper, London, 1909, p. 49), 'as if the Lord Justinian were still holding sway over Italy, and all disputes were to be decided in his courts.'

[3] The *legal* foundation of the 'States of the Church' is perhaps to be dated from the early days of Frederick II., soon after our period closes; but there is practical recognition of their existence in the Treaty of 1111 between Henry V. and Paschal II., also perhaps in the Concordat of Worms.

of Abélard, and an intellectual heretic before he became a political heretic. St Bernard, the bitter foe of both, lumped them together as 'Goliath and his squire'; John of Salisbury says that Arnold called Bernard a follower of vain glory who envied everyone of any fame or learning that was not of his own school.[1] And, as we should expect, Map, the *frondeur* of popes and Cistercian monks, gives an extremely favourable character of Arnold.[2]

In order to condemn heretics and heresies such as these, the spiritual element of the Church, represented by Bernard, was obliged to join hands with the worldly element, represented by the bishops and legates of the popes; and Bernard might perhaps not have been so successful, if men like Abélard and Arnold had not denounced the riches and bad morals of the clergy as fiercely as did John of Salisbury or Bernard himself.[3]

With regard to the 'popular' heresies which invaded Europe, from the East there is not, I think, much proof of the common view that they came in the wake of returning crusaders. We shall meet, indeed, in the course of the story, ample evidence that some form of them was known in the West for a century before the Crusades. And if Provence and Languedoc had, early in the twelfth century, sects that rejected priests, relics, and masses, such may very well have arisen from the rapidly growing intercourse of those countries with the Eastern Mediterranean.[4] The later sect of the Waldenses, or 'Poor Men of Lyons,' were not at first heretical on such subjects at all and were hostile to the Provençal heretics; rather they began a movement for apostolic poverty, and for preaching not unlike the later preaching of St Francis. They actually got the sanction of the good Pope Alexander III., but

[1] *Historia Pontificalis*, in Pertz, *Monumenta Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, vol. xx., p. 537.

[2] *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 43.

[3] Bernard, *e.g.*, failed to obtain the condemnation of Gilbert de la Porrée, Bishop of Poitiers, one of the learned heretics whom he attacked.

[4] Peter de Brueys was burned at Saint-Gilles in 1126 for some such heresy.

they too were condemned by his successor Lucius III. in 1184, and came to be reckoned as heretics. But the true 'Cathari' or 'Patarines,'[1] afterwards known as Albigensians, went far beyond this and were a thoroughly anti-christian sect, who would, if they had triumphed, have put an end to Catholicism itself. Their doctrine was probably descended from some of those forms of Manichæism which had long lingered on the borders of the Eastern Empire. They denied the Incarnation, and rejected all forms of the Christian Sacrament, and all our forms of priesthood, though they had a priesthood and a sacrament of their own. They condemned marriage and the eating of meat. Italy was full of them in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and it is not till the later twelfth century that we hear of them as specially rooted in Southern France. The Lateran Council of 1179 openly condemned such heresy and ordered its extirpation by the civil power; and it is probable that, but for the fall of Jerusalem and the necessity for a Third Crusade to the East, the Albigensian 'Crusades' might have occurred thirty years earlier than they did. It is interesting, however, to see that the burning of heretics, as a regular practice and duty inculcated by the Church, is not found in our period at all. The tender fierceness of St Bernard recoiled from the idea; nor was there yet, and perhaps there was not till the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, any presumed connection between sorcery (or witchcraft) and heresy.[2]

The main reason why all the elements of heresy, learning, and revolt above mentioned failed to combine sufficiently to produce an earlier 'Protestant' Reformation, was that the Church was shrewd enough to come to some terms with the learned heresies while it extirpated the popular heretics. The philosophers were timid, and

[1] The name 'patarine' attached itself, as we shall see, in Milan to a very different class of people, those fierce monks and their followers who took up the Hildebrandine crusade against clerical marriage, *circa* 1060-1070.

[2] See on this question H. C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition*, vol. iii., p. 417 *sqq*.

after Abélard's acceptance of his sentence[1] there was no Luther to stand forward as a champion at once of learned heresy and of popular revolt. The minds of some men were awake, and the courage of other men was undeniable, but the bravest men had not yet begun to think, and the most learned men had not yet wholly found their courage. The Church got hold of the nascent Universities, of the infant Aristotelianism, and allowed them a latitude of dialectic within certain definite boundaries. It shut the door against the nascent humanism in Latin learning, and, as there was yet no Greek learning to be got (the study of classical Greek would have forced that, or any door, in a very few decades), the whole learned movement weakened itself by the arid logical disputes for the mere sake of disputing which made up the later 'Scholastic' philosophy;[2] that door was beginning to be shut just when our period closes, but the University of Paris maintained a gallant fight to keep it partly open almost through the thirteenth century, at the beginning of which the incomparable militia of the new Orders of Friars, a militia almost pledged to set bounds to free-thought, came to the aid of the popes. The schools of the older Benedictine monasteries, which had done much to keep learning alive from the ninth to the end of the eleventh century, were now practically closed; the last to be active was that of Bec in Normandy in our Anselm's days. The new Cistercian and Premonstratensian orders, of the highest value as awakeners of spiritual life, had, alone among mediæval foundations, done nothing at all for learning. But the friars, who succeeded them in the spiritual hegemony of Christendom, could and did draw a distinction between learning and free-thought, and many, of the Dominican friars especially, became, within the limits of Scholasticism, really learned men. Of the Franciscans, those who took to learning

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 267.

[2] William of Conches (quoted by R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*, p. 221) said of the new logic, after the time of Abélard and Gilbert de la Porrée, that the name of Aristotle was dragged down by people who were not worthy to be his scullions.

rather than 'good works' were themselves apt to become heretics, crypto-heretics,[1] mystics, or even out-and-out rebels. What thoroughly unlearned monks thought and believed may be seen in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of the Cistercian, Cæsarius of Heisterbach[2] in the thirteenth century. When the force of the friars was spent, the result of the Church's crusade against free-thought was seen in the comparative absence of intellectual inspiration, which is a marked characteristic of the fourteenth century.

It may be argued that these heresies and revolts had very little to do with nation-making, that heresy and free-thought were as independent of national boundaries as was the spirit that repressed them. But my point is that they, in common with the rising spirit of nationalities, were the deadly enemies of the Papacy which was also the enemy of nationalities. And if learning and heresy were beaten back by the spiritual element, acting for this purpose in union with the worldly element, in the Church, nationality was not wholly beaten back. Neither learning nor heresy had any interest in the victory of nationality, but they had been fighting its enemy, and at the same time as itself. And undoubtedly their several efforts had considerably weakened this common enemy.

It is, moreover, after a preliminary consideration of the spirit that was abroad in the Western Europe of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that we shall best be able to follow the narrative of the events that took place during the period. Before we approach the details of that narrative, we should look back for a moment to the gloom in which the tenth century closed. The Hungarian pirates had indeed been beaten back from Germany and Italy,

[1] Fra Salimbene of Parma, the Franciscan, was, I think, in his youth a crypto-heretic; at all events one sees in him the keen struggle of a highly intelligent mind torn between his natural Parmesan spirit of mockery and his real belief in the goodness of good men, and in the efficacy of the Catholic faith as a passport to the next world. (See the new and splendid edition of his *Cronica*, by the late Oswald Holder-Egger, in vol. xxxii. of the *Scriptores*, in *Monumenta Germ. Hist.*, 1905-1913.)

[2] Ed. Strange, Cologne, 1851.

and had settled themselves in the valley of the Danube; the Scandinavian pirates, driven off from Northern France and Flanders, were still hammering at our own island; the Saracen plunderers, though manifestly in retreat, were still apt to harry the coasts of Southern France, Italy, and Spain. The new dynasty of the Capetians at Paris was barely in its seat, and was surrounded by a sea of barbarous feudality. The Christians in Leon, Castile, and Catalonia were still on the defensive against the Caliph of Cordova. And if the Caroling Kingdom had failed in France, it and its Saxon successor seemed to have failed still more signally in the spheres in which their representatives tried to be emperors as well as kings, the spheres of Italy and Germany. Gerbert of Rheims, forgetting his earlier zeal for learned freedom, had just accepted the Papacy from Otto III., and he had hardly done so before the boy Otto was dead, leaving no one capable of realising even the least of his imperial dreams. Few epochs indeed can have shown to an intelligent contemporary a less hopeful prospect for the future than that of the year 1000 A.D.


THE EMPERORS' ROADS TO ROME.
Cologne
AACHEN
Coblentz
Frankfurt
Mayence
Worms
Spyer
Weinsberg
Waiblingen
Stutgen
Schaffhausen
Tübingen
Ulm
Augsburg
Zähringen
Constance
Basel
Rheinfelden
Zürich
Lausanne
Geneva
Great St Bernard Pass
Little St Bernard Pass
Mt Cenis Pass
Susa
Turin
Mt Genèvre Pass
Vercelli
Novara
Milan
Lodi
Pavia
Tortona
Alessandria
Piacenza
Parma
Reggio
Modena
Bologna
Ferrara
Mantua
Verona
Padua
Venice
Chioggia
Trent
Botzen
Brixen
Brenner Pass
Innsbruck
Salzburg
Passau
Ratisbon
Nuremberg
Bamberg
Würtzburg
Fulda
Eichstädt
Erfurt
Weimar
Hagenau
Landau
Oppenheim
Kaiserslautern
Trifels
Darmstadt
Hanau
Francfort
Wetzlar
Friedberg
Baraufeld
Marienburg
Meissen
Prague
BOHEMIA
THURINGIA
FRANCONIA
SWABIA
CARINTHIA
STYRIA
CARNIOLA
Aquileia
Trieste
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
Arezzo
Siena
Ancona
Camerino
Spoleto
Viterbo
Tivoli
ROME
Ostia
Tusculum
Anagni
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Scale of Miles

ARGUMENT OF CHAPTER II

The attempt of the Saxon emperors to save the Papacy as a European institution has failed, and it is again little more than an Italian prince-bishopric until 1046. But one of the popes, BENEDICT VIII., is a good man, and works with the new German King, HENRY II., who may be called the last of the Saxon dynasty, and with the abbots of the great Burgundian Monastery of Cluny, in favour of reform. The Empire is to go on, with all its old vague claims over Italy; but the King-Emperor has hard work to keep order in Germany. His eastern frontiers are in danger from Slavs, his western would be in more danger if the French kings had not quite enough to do at home; his great dukes, though they do not want to abolish Kingship or Empire, are always inclined to rebellion. Henry II. is childless and is succeeded by CONRAD II., the founder of the Salian or Franconian dynasty; Conrad is a hard-hitting, lay-minded king, who defends his frontiers and subdues his dukes with much greater success than Henry; he gets the kingdom of Burgundy, from the Jura to Provence, annexed to the Empire; he conciliates Lombardy, and is quite indifferent to Church reform. Neither Henry II. nor Conrad can do anything serious to quiet Southern Italy, where the influence of the Greeks, revived for a time by BASIL II., is again dying out, and that of the Norman adventurers rising. HENRY III., son of Conrad, is at first obeyed both in Germany and Italy as no sovereign has been since Otto I.; but he is too merciful to the turbulent elements of society, which get out of hand before the end of his seventeen years of reign. He is most earnest for reform of the Church and, under the influence of Cluny, makes a clean sweep of three bad popes at once, and appoints four good ones in succession. He is also most earnest for good government in Germany, but he does not choose his agents well. Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, marries the widowed Marchioness of Tuscany, and creates centres of opposition on both sides of the Alps. The reformed Papacy becomes jealous of the power that called it into existence, and wishes to be independent as well as reformed. It does not yet quite know

what to do with the Normans who, under Robert Guiscard and others, are carving for themselves states in Southern Italy. Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, is extending German Christianity and civilisation in the North ; but this provokes the stubborn Saxons, whose duchy is the most tribal and warlike of the German duchies. When Henry dies in 1056, leaving a son of six years old, both Empire and Kingdom are in danger (i.) from the Saxons ; (ii.) from Lorraine-Tuscany ; (iii.) from the Normans ; (iv.) (and much the worst) from the new spirit of the Papacy, which will probably seek help against the crown from the other three elements of opposition.

It is not convenient to give genealogical tables of the German and Italian actors in these scenes separately for each chapter, so I give them here at the beginning to cover the whole four chapters which deal with those countries. The lists of contemporary popes, however, can be given separately.

TABLE I.—POPES, 1000 TO 1056.

Sylvester II. (Gerbert of Rheims, see Volume I.)		999 to 1003
John XVII.	unimportant Tusculans, lasting	1003 „ 1012
John XVIII.		
Sergius IV.		
Benedict VIII., Tusculan, but good ; friend of Emperor Henry II.		1012 „ 1024
John XIX., brother of last pope		1024 „ 1033
Benedict IX., scandalous boy, sold the Papacy		
Sylvester III., sometimes called an anti-pope	all deposed by Henry III. in 1046	1033 „ 1046
Gregory VI., bought the Papacy from Benedict IX.		
Clement II., first of the new series of German reformers		1046 „ 1047
Damasus II.		1048
Leo. IX., of royal German blood, the first pope to feel the Normans	Henry III.'s nominees	1049 to 1054
Victor II.		1055 „ 1057

TABLE II.—THE DESCENT OF THE GERMAN CROWN, WHICH CARRIES WITH IT THE IMPERIAL CROWN, UNTIL 1190.

(Saxon Line.)
Henry I., died 936 (*see* Vol. I.).

OTTO I.

OTTO II. — Liutgard = Conrad the Red.

OTTO III., died 1002. — Otto, Duke of Carinthia.

(Salian Line)

Henry.

Conrad, Duke of Carinthia.

Our King Canute.

CONRAD II., died 1039.

Conrad, competitor for Crown, 1024.

Gunhilda = HENRY III., died 1056. = Agnes of Poitou (Regent, 1056-1062), daughter of Duke of Aquitaine.

Matilda = Rudolf, anti-King in Germany, 1077-1080.

Judith = Solomon, of Hungary.

HENRY IV., died 1106. = (1) Bertha of Susa, (2) Praxedis of Kieff, and has by Bertha

Conrad, anti-King in Lombardy in 1093, died 1101.

HENRY V., died 1125, married Matilda, daughter of our King Henry I. O. S. P.

(End of Salian Line.)

Agnes (she had 22 children).

LOTHAIR of Saxony, elected 1125, died 1137 (*see* Table IVB).

Henry, Duke of Bavaria, died 955.

Henry, Duke of Bavaria, died 995, called "the Quarrelsome."

Cunigunda = HENRY II., died 1024. O. S. P.

(End of Saxon Line.)

(Hohenstaufen Line.)

Frederick, Count of Buren.

(Babenberg Family.)

(1) Frederick, first Duke of Swabia, who died 1105. = (2) Leopold, Margrave of Austria, who died 1137.

CONRAD III., first Hohenstaufen King, 1138-1152, never Emperor.

Henry, Regent, 1146-9, died 1150.

Frederick, Duke of Swabia, 1152, died 1167.

Frederick, second Duke of Swabia, died 1147, married Judith, daughter of Henry the Black, of Bavaria.

FREDERICK I., Barbarossa, died 1190, married Beatrice of Burgundy.

Leopold, Duke of Bavaria in opposition to the Welfs, 1139, died 1142. O. S. P.

Henry Jasomirgott, died 1177, first Duke of Austria, married Gertrude widow of Henry the Proud, of Bavaria and Saxony.

From him came the later Babenbergers, extinct in 1246.

Frederick, Duke of Swabia, died on Third Crusade, 1191.

HENRY VI., died 1197, married Constance, daughter of Roger II. of Sicily.

PHILIP, died 1208.

FREDERICK II., died 1250.

CONRAD IV., died 1254.

Conradin, died 1268.

(End of Hohenstaufen Line.)

NOTE.—(1) The Hohenstaufen are the best heirs of the Salians, and ought to have come to the throne in 1125. (2) The Salians are also the best heirs of the Saxons.

[*Face page* 16.

TABLE III.—NORMANS IN SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY.

NOTE.—The first Norman to be enfeoffed in Southern Italy, Ranulf of Aversa (died 1047), is no relation to the later royal line, but he left collateral descendants whose fiefs were only gradually swallowed by that line; which springs from

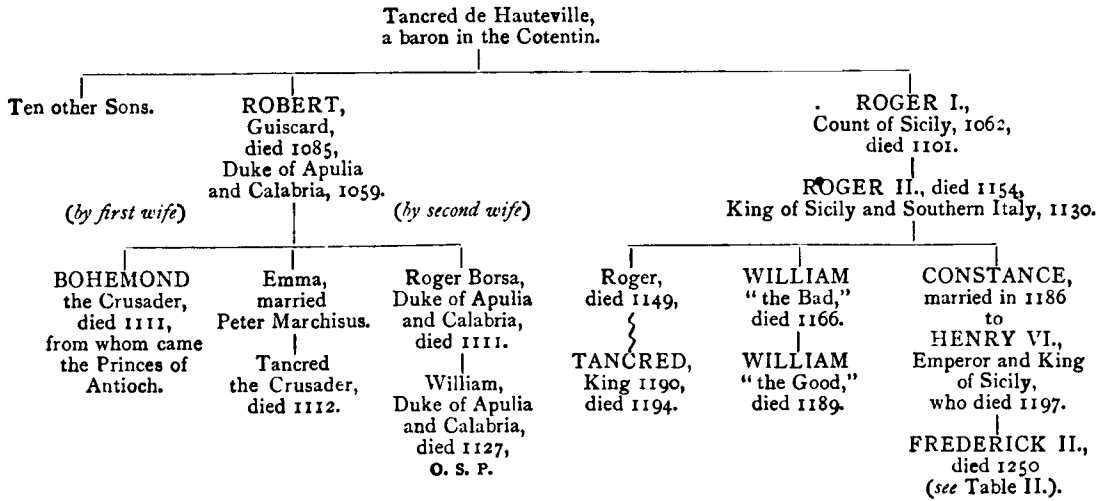
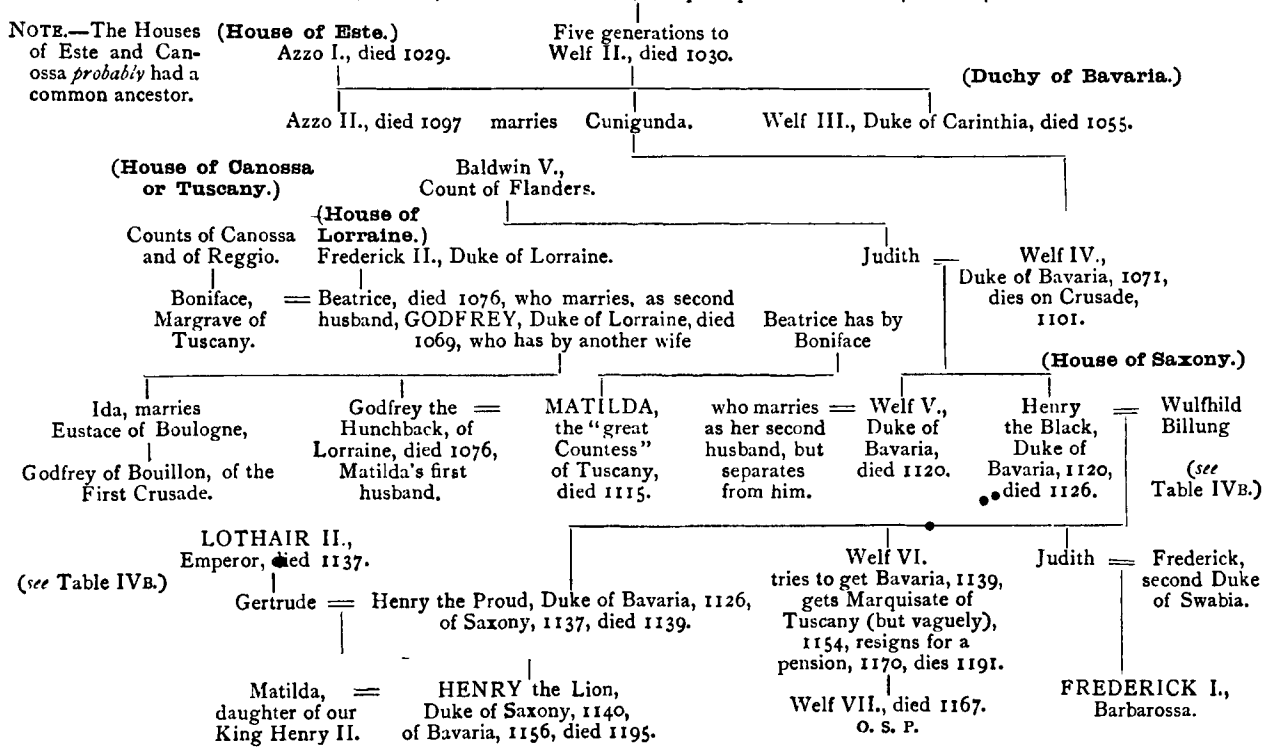
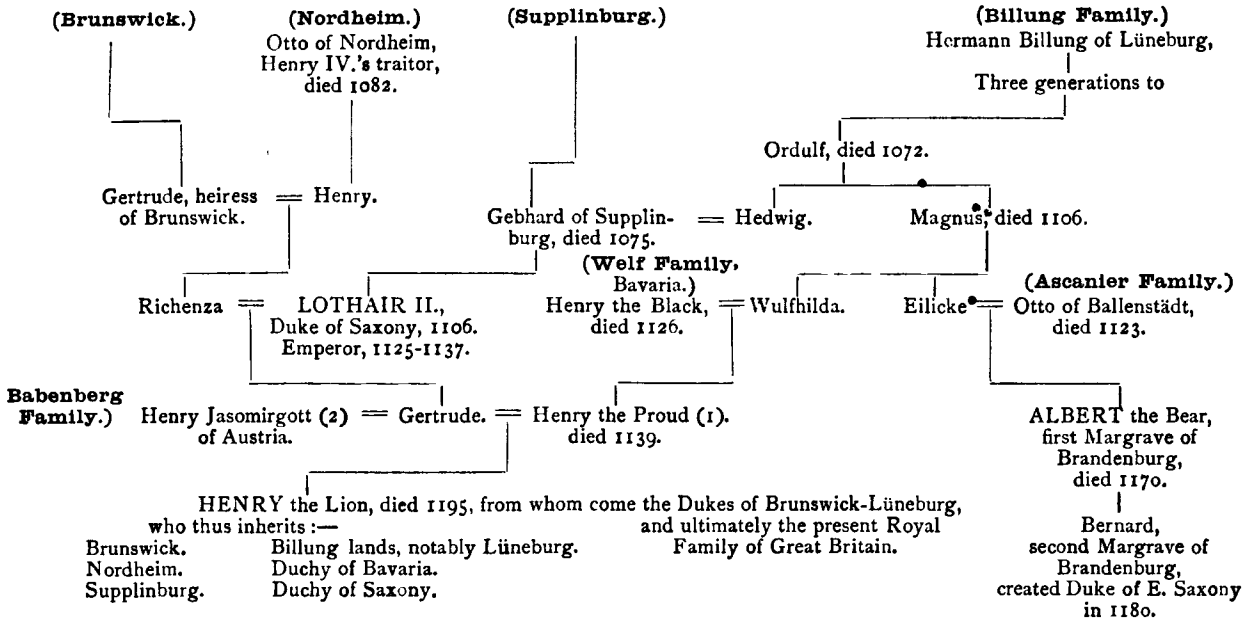

Tancred de Hauteville,
a baron in the Cotentin.
Ten other Sons.
ROBERT, Guiscard, died 1085, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, 1059.
(by first wife)
(by second wife)
ROGER I., Count of Sicily, 1062, died 1101.
ROGER II., died 1154, King of Sicily and Southern Italy, 1130.
BOHEMOND the Crusader, died 1111, from whom came the Princes of Antioch.
Emma, married Peter Marchisus.
Tancred the Crusader, died 1112.
Roger Borsa, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, died 1111.
William, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, died 1127, O. S. P.
Roger, died 1149,
TANCRED, King 1190, died 1194.
WILLIAM "the Bad," died 1166.
WILLIAM "the Good," died 1189.
CONSTANCE, married in 1186 to HENRY VI., Emperor and King of Sicily, who died 1197.
FREDERICK II., died 1250 (see Table II.).

TABLE IVA.—THE WELFS AND THEIR SOUTHERN CONNECTIONS.


A Count, Welf I., had lands in Swabia, and perhaps also in Bavaria, died 824.
NOTE.—The Houses of Este and Canossa *probably* had a common ancestor.
(House of Este.)
Azzo I., died 1029.
Five generations to Welf II., died 1030.
(Duchy of Bavaria.)
Azzo II., died 1097 marries Cunigunda.
Welf III., Duke of Carinthia, died 1055.
(House of Canossa or Tuscany.)
Baldwin V., Count of Flanders.
Counts of Canossa and of Reggio.
(House of Lorraine.)
Frederick II., Duke of Lorraine.
Judith
Welf IV., Duke of Bavaria, 1071, dies on Crusade, 1101.
Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany.
Beatrice, died 1076, who marries, as second husband, GODFREY, Duke of Lorraine, died 1069, who has by another wife
Beatrice has by Boniface
(House of Saxony.)
Ida, marries Eustace of Boulogne,
Godfrey of Bouillon, of the First Crusade.
Godfrey the Hunchback, of Lorraine, died 1076, Matilda's first husband.
MATILDA, the "great Countess" of Tuscany, died 1115.
who marries as her second husband, but separates from him.
Welf V., Duke of Bavaria, died 1120.
Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, 1120, died 1126.
Wulfhild Billung
(see Table IVB.)
LOTHAIR II., Emperor, died 1137.
(see Table IVB.)
Gertrude
Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, 1126, of Saxony, 1137, died 1139.
Welf VI. tries to get Bavaria, 1139, gets Marquisate of Tuscany (but vaguely), 1154, resigns for a pension, 1170, dies 1191.
Judith
Frederick, second Duke of Swabia.
Matilda, daughter of our King Henry II.
HENRY the Lion, Duke of Saxony, 1140, of Bavaria, 1156, died 1195.
Welf VII., died 1167. O. S. P.
FREDERICK I., Barbarossa.

NOTE.—Here you see that Frederick Barbarossa and Henry the Lion were first cousins.

TABLE IVB.—THE WELF CONNECTION WITH SAXONY.



NOTE.—This table illustrates the rivalry between the Lion and the Bear, carried on to future generations in the rivalry of Saxony and Brandenburg, even when Saxony has passed to the new family of Wettin, and Brandenburg to the new family of Hohenzollern.

TABLE V.—COUNTY OF FLANDERS AND DUCHIES OF LORRAINE.

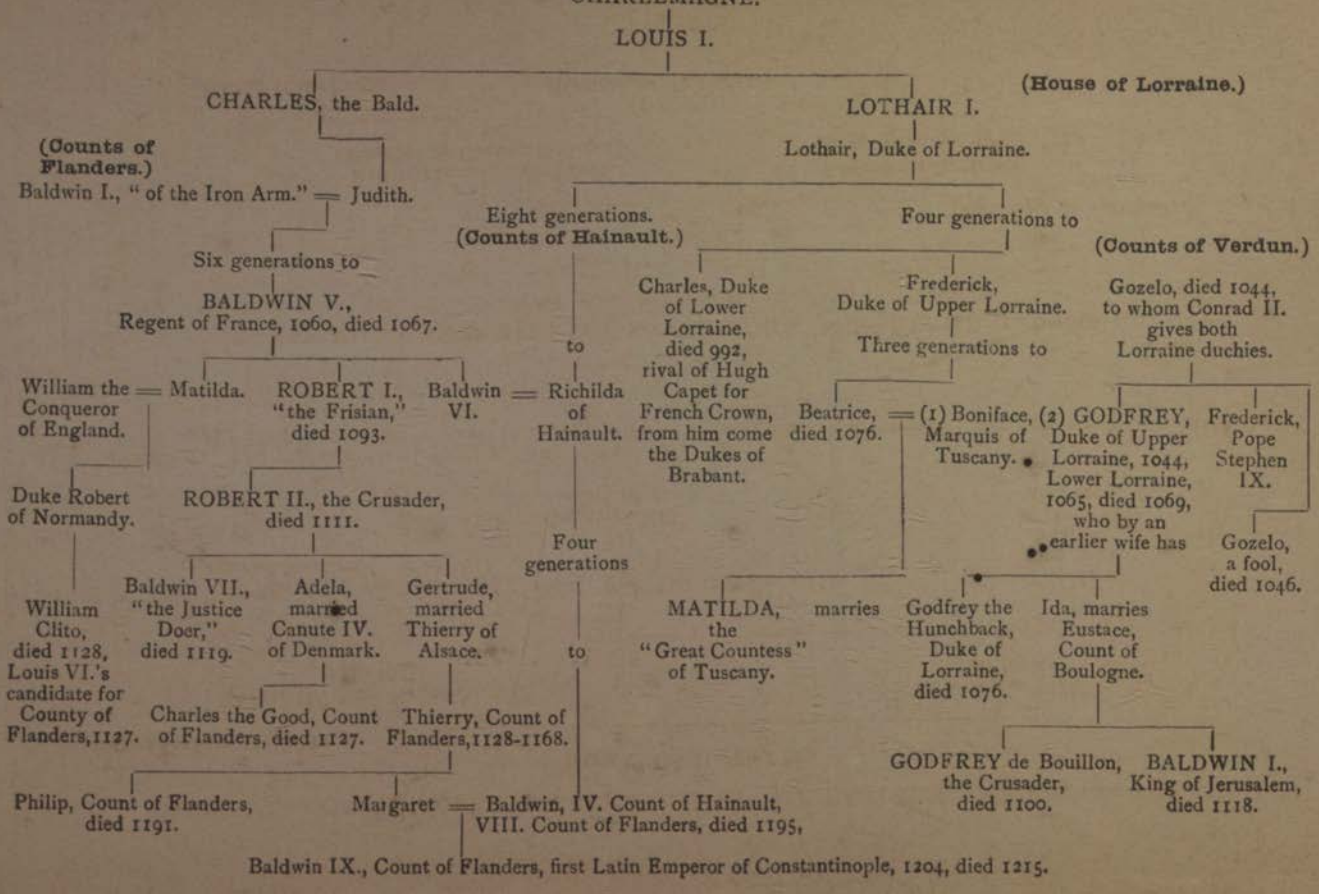
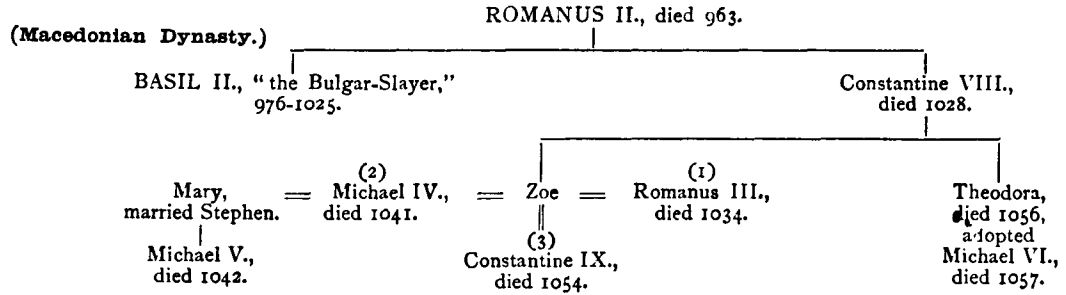

CHARLEMAGNE.
LOUIS I.
CHARLES, the Bald.
(House of Lorraine.)
LOTHAIR I.
(Counts of Flanders.)
Baldwin I., "of the Iron Arm." = Judith.
Lothair, Duke of Lorraine.
Six generations to
Eight generations.
(Counts of Hainault.)
Four generations to
(Counts of Verdun.)
BALDWIN V.,
Regent of France, 1060, died 1067.
to
Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, died 992, rival of Hugh Capet for French Crown, from him come the Dukes of Brabant.
Frederick, Duke of Upper Lorraine.
Three generations to
Gozelo, died 1044, to whom Conrad II. gives both Lorraine duchies.
William the Conqueror of England. = Matilda.
ROBERT I., "the Frisian," died 1093.
Baldwin VI. = Richilda of Hainault.
Beatrice, died 1076. = (1) Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany.
(2) GODFREY, Duke of Upper Lorraine, 1044, Lower Lorraine, 1065, died 1069, who by an earlier wife has
Frederick, Pope Stephen IX.
Duke Robert of Normandy.
ROBERT II., the Crusader, died 1111.
Four generations
Gozelo, a fool, died 1046.
Baldwin VII., "the Justice Doer," died 1119.
Adela, married Canute IV. of Denmark.
Gertrude, married Thierry of Alsace.
to
MATILDA, the "Great Countess" of Tuscany.
marries
Godfrey the Hunchback, Duke of Lorraine, died 1076.
Ida, marries Eustace, Count of Boulogne.
William Clito, died 1128, Louis VI.'s candidate for County of Flanders, 1127.
Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, died 1127.
Thierry, Count of Flanders, 1128-1168.
GODFREY de Bouillon, the Crusader, died 1100.
BALDWIN I., King of Jerusalem, died 1118.
Philip, Count of Flanders, died 1191.
Margaret = Baldwin, IV. Count of Hainault, VIII. Count of Flanders, died 1195,
Baldwin IX., Count of Flanders, first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, 1204, died 1215.

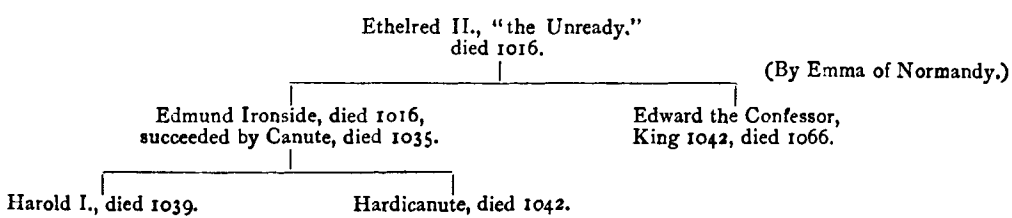
TABLE VI.—CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS IN THE EASTERN EMPIRE, 1000-1056 A.D.


ROMANUS II., died 963.
(Macedonian Dynasty.)
BASIL II., "the Bulgar-Slayer," 976-1025.
Constantine VIII., died 1028.
Mary, married Stephen.
(2) Michael IV., died 1041.
Zoe
(1) Romanus III., died 1034.
Theodora, died 1056, adopted Michael VI., died 1057.
Michael V., died 1042.
(3) Constantine IX., died 1054.

NOTE.—(1) End of Macedonian "dynasty" with Michael VI., 1057
(2) "Died" must often be taken, in Byzantine genealogies, to mean "disappeared," deposed, blinded, or shaved and sent into a monastery.

TABLE VII.—CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS IN ENGLAND, 1000-1056 A.D.

(For convenience of comparison only.)


Ethelred II., "the Unready." died 1016.
(By Emma of Normandy.)
Edmund Ironside, died 1016, succeeded by Canute, died 1035.
Edward the Confessor, King 1042, died 1066.
Harold I., died 1039.
Hardicanute, died 1042.

CHAPTER II

GERMANY AND ITALY, 1002-1056

ALONE in the fortified Lateran, Sylvester II. spent the last sixteen months of his stormy life. He was now an old man, well over sixty, and was busy constructing a globe of the world. To the human insects who buzzed and crawled and stung each other to death in the real world at his feet, he probably paid little heed, and apparently he was unmolested by them. His hopes, if he had any left by 1002, must have been buried in Otto's grave.

We have seen how, in the tenth century, the spirit of the Roman nobles was in deadly opposition to any reform which would strengthen the hands of the Pope, either spiritually or temporally, especially when such strengthening came from beyond the Alps.[1] So far as temporal power went, the Ottonian donations seemed to have proved mere moonshine, whilst most of those of the Caroling sovereigns had been given to, or grabbed by, dukes or counts, who were already busy attempting to anticipate Machiavelli's ideal that no foreigner more powerful than themselves should enter Italy in arms. Of the 'Ottonian constitution' the bishops alone remained, each in possession of very real power in the city which was the centre of his see. Both in Italy and Germany the conditions of the ninth century, the 'golden age of bishops,' to some extent returned after the death of Otto III. Nor was this episcopal administration seriously weakened before the coming of Henry V. to Italy.

[1] See Vol. I., pp. 316, 336, 345, 365.

But it is fairly obvious that some bishops would be weak, some sees would be, for longer or shorter periods, vacant; and that turbulent cities, perhaps already beginning to feel their feet as trading centres, would also begin to aspire towards some grade of freedom, or even of self-government. Such steps once made would not easily be forgotten, and it might even suit an ambitious or enlightened bishop to favour them in return for cold money. It might, but unfortunately it seldom did, suit an enlightened emperor to do the same.

As for the spiritual power of the Pope, the Roman nobles cared perhaps less about that; in some cases, it might even be useful to some faction among them. Yet a pope who set up serious pretensions, after the manner of Nicholas I., would become as independent of themselves as he would be of the transalpine power; and therefore it was not to their interest to have a really reforming pope.

All in fact depended on the question—who is to create the Pope? And herein it is obvious that the coming 'contest of investitures' was foreshadowed. The three Saxon emperors had laid strong hands on the power of nomination, entirely to the prejudice of the 'Roman Clergy and People.' It was natural then, and came to pass, that some body or bodies, calling themselves the Roman clergy and people, should now have seized back the power of nominating. Whether or no the end of the great magician in the Lateran was hastened by poison,[1] the next few popes seem to have been the creatures, now of the family of the Crescentii, now of the Counts of Tusculum. These families were at feud with each other,

[1] 'There are many deceits in Romania and Lombardy,' says Thietmar, 'and there is little charity for strangers . . . many perish by poison.' (Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, vii., 3, ed. Lappenberg, re-ed. Kurze, *Scriptores in usum Scholarum*, Hanover, 1889). Giesebrecht (ii., 558) sets the highest value on Thietmar, whom he compares to Gregory of Tours, for his knowledge of, and interest in, other parts of the Reich than his own Saxon province, and even of countries outside the Reich. Naturally a Saxon bishop in that day thought most about events on the north-east frontier. Thietmar died about 1019.

and the names of their leaders matter as little as the names of their creature-popes. What connection, if any, either of them had with contemporary factions and events in Lombardy, it is not easy to see; but in Lombardy, a month after Otto's death, one Ardoin of Ivrea, probably a grandson of Berengar II., had been elected king at Pavia, evidently by the great nobles who were hostile to the bishops and imperialists. He was a bludgeony person, who had got the surname of *episcopicida* because he had killed a bishop. That extremely dull but well-informed German chronicler, Bishop Thietmar of Merseberg, calls him 'Hardwig, more skilled in the arts of destruction than of ruling.'[1]

The two powers outside Italy which were obliged to take notice of these conditions were, first Cluny, and secondly, the wearer of the German Crown. One can hardly say as yet that there was any collusion between these powers, but we shall see them steadily drawn nearer to each other during the next half century, and drawn by nothing so much as by the very undesirable state into which the headship of the Western Church had again been brought.

Cluny was now nearly a century old, and in France, at least, its influence was supreme; it was busy making King Robert of France a Saint whether he would or no; two of its eleventh-century abbots, Odilo[2] and Hugh, were going

[1] Thietmar, iv., 34.

[2] It was to Abbot Odilo of Cluny that the best chronicler of the first half of the eleventh century, Ralph the Bald (*Radulphus Glaber*) dedicated his *Five Books of Histories* (900-1044). Ralph admits that, even as a monk, he had led a life of naughtiness, but excuses himself by the fact that he had been forced into the cloister at the age of twelve against his will. He is one of the very few chroniclers who had actual sight of the Devil (or of a Devil) in person, and he faithfully records the interview (v., 2, 3). Though his profession had been made in another monastery, he spent his later years at Cluny, and at Cluny he had good opportunities of knowing or hearing of most people worth knowing in Western Europe. It is from his writings, or from a misinterpretation of them, that modern historians took the notion of the impression of awe produced on Christendom by the advent of the millennium of Christ's incarnation (1000) and passion (1033), and of the outburst of joy which

to leave reputations hardly inferior to those of its second founder, Abbot Odo himself; and, indeed, both were truly good men and peacemakers. That they were not ahead of their age, even in matters of superstition, is not wholly to be regretted, as it enabled them to keep some hand upon the consciences of their contemporaries. To the age of hermitry was now to succeed the age of flagellation; even a sensible emperor like Henry III. flogged himself occasionally. The great St Peter Damiani was a strong advocate of the practice, though he never succeeded in attaining the standard of his friend Dominic, whose sole garment, a coat of mail, was only removed for purposes of self-flagellation; Dominic could work off in a week the three thousand stripes which the soberer Damiani was wont to spread over a year.

If Cluny were interested in Italian affairs from the moral and spiritual side, the wearer of the German Crown was always bound to be interested from the temporal side, and occasionally from the spiritual side also. It is often supposed that the German 'people' took no interest in the Italian policy and Italian expeditions of their sovereigns in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; but I think it would be equally false to say that fourteenth-century Englishmen took no interest in the French wars

hailed the safe passing of these epochs. Watching, as he did, the rebuilding during his lifetime of many churches (dilapidated, perhaps, in the barbarism and invasions of the tenth century) in the Romanesque style, Ralph tells us (iii., 4, 13) how the world shook itself and 'clothed itself in a white robe of churches.' He is also one of the few writers candid enough to admit that miracles sometimes made mistakes; *e.g.*, a thief who was hanged for a whole day was so penitent that a miracle delivered him and he dropped unhurt from the gallows, but immediately took to thieving again (iii., 6, 21.) Ralph tells a pleasant story of the rebuilding of the Church of St Martin of Tours (iii., 4, 15); the treasurer (so Ducange for *archiclavus*) who had pushed through the work, prayed that some special miracle might occur at its dedication. St Martin appeared and explained that miracles must *not* be made too cheap, and that not all the Cathedral clergy of Tours were worthy of them. (I have used the edition of Glaber by Maurice Prou, Paris, 1886, in the *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire.*)

of Edward III. Even from the lowest point of view, plunder, Italy was a country of supreme interest to all South and West Germany, though no doubt less so to the North and East, which during the eleventh century was on the defensive, and during the twelfth on the victorious offensive, against Slavonic Wends, and Letts, and all other Baltic and eastern tribes. I think that we should allow a great deal of influence to German pride in the idea of the 'Reich.'[1] This pride, however, had its limits. It was right for a German king to go occasionally to Italy to be crowned emperor, to keep order, to collect rents, and, *bien-entendu*, to reward faithful German vassals with Italian lands and bishoprics. But it was not right that he should stay too long there,[2] certainly not right that he should spend his German rents there (there were no German taxes to spend) and then come back hungry. Otto III.'s Cæsarism had not been at all to the taste even of his faithful Saxon vassals; and all Germany was kicking vigorously when he died. The great archbishops and bishops of the Rhineland expressed the national opinion, when several candidates for the German Crown appeared in the spring of the year 1002.

[1] If in the following pages I have overestimated this pride, it will be because I have taken as my main guides for German history, especially in its relation to Italian, the *Deutsche Kaiserzeit* of Wilhelm von Giesebrecht (which began to appear in 1855, and was unfinished at the author's death in 1888) and the *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* of Karl Wilhelm Nitzsch. There is a very just estimate of Giesebrecht's work in Mr Gooch's *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1913), p. 122 *sqq.*; but Nitzsch's very remarkable book is scarcely mentioned by Mr Gooch.

[2] The attitude of the German princes and knights to the question of long sojourns in Italy is well illustrated by a story told in Helmold's twelfth-century *Chronica Slavorum* (p. 154). When Hadrian IV. wanted Frederick I. to go on south from Rome against the Normans, the princes in the German army answered thus:—'It is a long time that we have been under arms, and our money has given out, and do you demand that we should go and conquer Apulia before the coronation? We simply can't do it. No, finish the coronation and let us get back home and have a little rest from our labours; afterwards we will return to finish the task that remains for us to do.'

None of these candidates matter to us except the man to whom, in June, all rallied, Henry of Bavaria,[1] the nearest heir of the Ottos, the son of Henry the Quarrelsome. If he appears as the candidate of the Church it is because the bishops, trusted and favoured as they had been by Otto the Great at the expense of the lay princes, were undoubtedly the safest trustees of German interests. Henry was both a thoroughly good man, and a patient, hard-working king. Content with small gains at a time, he achieved a good deal in the long run. As for his piety, in a day when Cluniac influence on the German Church was almost wholly in the future, both he and his good wife Cunigunda were quite Cluniac-minded, and desired earnestly to awaken spiritual life, in which desire they often clashed hopelessly with the very unspiritual German bishops. A century and a quarter after his death Henry was written up into a sort of Saint, and he was actually canonised by Eugenius III. in 1146; his wife met the same fate from Innocent III. in 1200. They had no children, and there is evidence that they had no hope of any, but they were devoted to each other, and had but 'one heart and soul.' Henry was frequently in ill health, was perhaps lame, and seems to have suffered from the stone,[2] in spite of which he was a gallant knight in the field, and a ceaseless traveller and toiler at his royal duties.

There was, then, unquestionably, to the eleventh-century German, a *regnum Teutonicum* — how he would have pronounced or spelt 'Deutsches Reich' I must leave to philologists; he might bully the wearer of its crown, on occasions even rebel against him, but he did not wish to split up that *regnum*.[3] Yet so rooted was the idea of the separate duchies that Henry and his next successors

[1] Born either 973 or 978; at any rate a man under thirty.

[2] See Giesebrecht, ii., 607, for an enquiry into the question of the Emperor's health.

[3] Giesebrecht, I think, overstates his case when he indicates (ii., 206 *sqq.*) that but for Henry's activity, the centrifugal tendencies would have got the upper hand of the centripetal.

had to begin their reigns with a 'ride round' to receive homage from Saxons, Bavarians, Swabians, and Franconians; in other words to be accepted by each of these units as king. Did not our own Harold II. get himself crowned at York as well as in London? Not so did William the Conqueror understand royalty: he made his people come to him; if ever he had to go to them it was usually the worse for them.

Thietmar makes it clear[1] that the Saxon vassals actually made a compact with Henry that he would uphold their customs and 'reasonable will' before they would accept him as king. Indeed to some extent the separation between Saxony and the other duchies, in other words between North and South Germany, becomes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries more marked than before. Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia were fairly ready to amalgamate; Saxony remained almost a separate nation. It resisted fiercely the attempts of two great Salian emperors, Henry III. and Henry IV., to make Goslar the seat of a central government; only when Lothair of Supplinburg, its first Duke of a new line, became emperor, did it interest itself in the concerns of the Reich, and against all the Hohenstaufen it may be said to have kept up a steady spirit of opposition. Against this, however, one must set the fact that the Saxon dialect, 'Low-German,' remained the common speech of most of Germany in opposition to the 'High-German' or court language, formed out of the southern dialects, which became the language of the upper classes even in the north.

Before he could seriously turn his attention to Italy, and indeed throughout his reign, Henry had plenty to do on his own frontiers, and especially on the eastern. His fifteen years of war with Poland were a legacy from the policy of weak conciliation applied to the Slavs by Otto III. It was not a successful war; so far from Germany extending her frontier to the Oder, she barely held, at the end of it, the line of the Elbe; once the

[1] Thietmar, v., 9.

Boleslav of the day actually reached the Elster. It is true that incessant feuds in Germany often enabled this Boleslav to get help from rebellious Germans; it is also true that he was not only a Christian, and an ardent champion of Christianity, but also the most powerful and able Slavonic leader who came to the front during the eleventh or twelfth centuries; but the united Germany of Otto I.'s later years could, one would think, have crushed him or any other Boleslav in a few months. But we must remember that from Otto II.'s time the eastern frontiers had not merely been in danger from Slav, Dane, and Hungarian, but had actually been receding; they hardly began to advance again, before the coming of Albert the Bear in Lothair's reign, 1134. We must also remember that the latter half of Henry II.'s reign was contemporary with the rise of a far greater Prince and power than that of any Slav, a power, happily for Germany, even more radically antagonistic to the Slavs than her own. It was Canute the Great who really put an end to the Vikings as professional raiders on a grand scale, and it was certainly more the good fortune of Germany than the skill or valour of her princes that conjured away from her any very serious danger from Denmark after Canute's death.

Against Poland Henry could and did frequently use Bohemians, Hungarians (the King of Hungary, 'Saint' Stephen, was Henry's brother-in-law), and even heathen Letts,[1] from the eastern Baltic, in preference to his own German troops, and if the Russians had not attacked Poland from the east, Germany would perhaps have come off even worse than she did. Heathen Wends in this very same reign once more wasted the bishoprics on the lower Elbe with impunity.[2] In 1013 Henry had

[1] Glaber will have it that these *Leutici* derive their name from the mud (lutus) of the swamps in which they lived (iv., 8, 23); but his nomenclature and etymology are always wild, *e.g.*, he persists in calling Lorraine *Retia Prima* and deriving it from *Rhenus*, the Rhine!

[2] The Wendish princes were called Mystiwoi and Mizzidrog. King Swein Estrithson of Denmark in his old age told his friend

to make this 'King' Boleslav of Poland a knight, as if he were quite a civilised prince; in 1018 he had to conclude with him the peace of Bautzen, *non ut decuit*, says Thietmar,[1] *sed sicut tunc fieri potuit*, and to cede to him everything east of the Elbe. If King Robert of France had not been peacefully inclined towards his German neighbour, when Baldwin, Count of Flanders, a professional rebel against them both, stirred up strife on the north-west, Henry's frontier tasks would have been still more serious.

It is the boast of German historians that their country in the eleventh century needed no 'Truce of God,' such as Burgundy invented, and France, at Cluniac persuasion, grudgingly accepted, to give respite, for certain days in the week and certain seasons in the year, to their incessant private wars.[2] But the fact remains that we now begin to hear in Germany not of 'peace' or 'the peace,' but of

Adam of Bremen, some grisly details about their cruelties, and when the historian asked him for more he replied 'Stop, my son, we have more martyrs in Denmark and Sclavania than could possibly be written down in a book.' (Adam of Bremen, ii., 40, 41.)

[1] Thietmar, viii., 1.

[2] We must beware of looking on either the 'Peace' or the 'Truce' of God as merely directed against robbers; it was an attempt to circumscribe the blood-feud and the general principle of 'self-help' as well. Efforts in this direction can be traced in church councils in the South of France before the close of the tenth century. The truce, as Maitland points out (*Collected Papers*, ii., 290 *sqq.*, a review of Dr Huberti's *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte des Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden*), aimed at establishing a 'close-time' for feuds, certain seasons in which you must refrain from self-help against your enemy. Glaber, who was likely to be well informed, dates the general acceptance of the idea of the *Peace* to the millennium of Christ's passion, 1033 (iv., 5, 14-17), and to the diocese of Arles or Lyons; thence it spread 'per universam Burgundiam et in ultimas Franciæ partes.' He says it was initiated by the great people and welcomed by the lower classes with delight; every one was to go unarmed, and even the right of sanctuary was to be violated against those criminals who broke the peace; but he adds that after the first rapture had passed away men became more wicked than ever. In a later passage he dates the *Truce*, as opposed to the *Peace*, from the early years of Henry III., and places its origin in Aquitaine (v., 1, 15), but says

temporary and local 'peaces,'[1] to keep which the king makes the great men, for a given time, or within a given area, swear. He cannot, however, compel them to swear, and such peaces are mere voluntary contracts. The king, in fact, acts rather as a mediator than a king; and such was perhaps the old German conception of sovereign power. To the end of the Middle Ages and after, the family feud remained for German gentlemen a sacred thing, which King and Church could not stop, but could partially legalise, in the form of 'trial by combat,' and could occasionally suspend by the proclamation of a local- or 'land-peace.' 'Thirty-five of my vassals fell in family feuds in one year,' said an eleventh-century bishop of Worms. And this was in a country whose sovereigns for three hundred years, almost without exception, had a higher conception of their duty and a greater devotion to it than those of any other European people. And it was in a country where the free peasantry, though undoubtedly a dwindling factor in the state, still held much alodial property, and where the unfree were by no means badly treated or heavily burdened. Free peasants, and even half unfree, migrated, and were allowed to migrate, both inside and outside the Reich without hindrance; and, when the lands on the Oder began to be colonised, the peasantry were the backbone of the colonies. But if the peasants were autochthonous, so were the nobles both great and small; nearly all held alodial property as well as fiefs, and public

that 'Neustria,' *i.e.*, Northern France, then torn by the feud between Blois and the Crown, would have nothing to say to it; this is undoubtedly an overstatement.

[1] So, in 1003 in Swabia, 1011, 1017 in Saxony. Giesebrecht (ii., 679 *sqq.*) defends the use of the word 'Land-peace' for the composition of feuds as early as the reign of Henry II.; this was greatly extended in the next two reigns. He is convinced that such peaces were not in any way founded on the Peace or Truce of God, but rested on the customary proclamations of peace by earlier German sovereigns. The first *known* universal Land-peace for the whole of Germany was that of 1103 (*vide infra*, p. 101); but such Peaces may very well have been proclaimed at earlier dates without record of them having survived.

opinion (or primitive custom) made it well nigh impossible for a king to pronounce forfeiture of alodial land even on the most turbulent rebel.[1]

And there was in Germany no capital, no centre where king, nobles, and bishops, could habitually meet.[2] The Government must be always a peripatetic one. Diets, that is assemblies of the princes, clerical and lay, were very frequent, probably too frequent; but the sovereigns were never masters of them; the 'consent of the princes' had to be won for every separate act of sovereignty, for the maintenance of order at home as well as for the defence of the frontier or for the prosecution of wars abroad. Now to the princes who came to these Diets the right of private war was an indispensable mark of their 'German freedom.' And beyond the Diet there was no royal law-court, nothing like an English king's *Curia Regis*, nothing like a later French king's *Parlement de Paris*, to enforce its decisions with the writ or the axe on those who broke what ought to have been the 'king's peace.' Germany, in this its so-called 'hero-time,' was in fact stubbornly rejecting such lessons of the Roman Empire as Charlemagne had striven to introduce into his dominions, just as she was also going to reject Latin culture and written law. Her princes were too apt to act, and one feels that they probably spoke, much like the heroes in her Nibelungen-Lied; which makes for excellent poetry but for bad government.

The bishops, taken as a whole, were probably much better than the lay princes, their vassals less turbulent, their lands better cultivated. These lands lay mostly in the river-valleys, and so the episcopal tenants came to

[1] *E.g.*, Henry the Lion in 1181 kept his alodial lands when he was stripped of all his fiefs. Here and elsewhere I speak of 'alodial land' in the ordinary sense, that is in contradistinction to land held feudally or as a 'fief.' It is 'the most absolute form of ownership that can be' (Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law*, i., 45).

[2] Cologne in the twelfth century might have become such a capital but for its antagonism to the great Hohenstaufen emperor at the end of his reign. *Vide infra*, p. 222 and *note*.

have a greater interest in good agriculture than those of the small free nobles who lived in fortified towers on the hills. Certainly they were far richer, though as yet riches were measured wholly in kind, not in cash. They did contribute largely, though rather by custom than from any feudal obligation, both men and money gifts to the royal army and exchequer. The monastic foundations were less satisfactory; they had acquired during the last century enormous lands and riches, and much of this wealth was entirely unburdened with any contribution to the imperial exchequer or army, was in fact entirely extra-national. Discipline and morality had also become exceedingly lax both in monasteries and nunneries. It says less for Henry's saintliness than for his dogged persistence that he stood up to the clerical estate of his realm so steadily as he did. Unquestionably, he also did much to improve the tone of this same estate; he kept the fullest control over the nominations to bishoprics, and those that fell vacant in his time were filled up from the ranks of his chaplains, who were made to contribute in cash and men to his needs. As for the great abbeys, he treated them almost with the freedom of a Henry VIII. The goods and lands of five monasteries were taken to enrich the new see which he erected at his darling town of Bamberg, on the Upper Main; wherever scandalous life could be proved to be prevalent within the cloister walls, abbots were deposed and new ones of stricter principles appointed, and scandalous monks and nuns were driven forth into the world in crowds. Much monastic property was given to the bishops; much was kept for the crown. From the remainder full service to the crown was exacted, and the Church, so far as Henry could grip it, began to wear the semblance of a national religious institution.

But it may be doubted whether he gripped it very closely. The greater bishops were sore at the Slav victories on the eastern frontier, which probably brought them actual loss of temporal property; they were sore at the excessive favour shown by Henry to Bamberg;

and they were sorer still at his close alliance with Abbot Odilo of Cluny, and with Benedict VIII., the most reputable of the popes created by the Counts of Tusculum. Above all they feared a Roman attack on their powers as metropolitans. The appearance of Pope Benedict in person to dedicate the new minister of Bamberg was especially bitter to the Bishop of Würzburg, hitherto the greatest man in the Main valley, who was already thinking that he ought himself to be an archbishop like his brethren of Cologne, Mainz, Trier, Salzburg, and Magdeburg. Henry also projected a national German synod in the hope of getting his bishops to agree to act with Pope Benedict in the direction of Cluniac reforms (clerical celibacy being the chief of these); but the Church by the mouth of Archbishop Aribo of Mainz, himself a reformer of no mean importance, nay by the mouths of Henry's own episcopal brother of Augsburg and his own creature of Bamberg, replied with an emphatic 'no.' As a whole the German Church resented all external influence and forbade all appeals to Rome.

Beaten on this ground Henry patiently sought for support in Burgundy. Of this kingdom ('Austrasia,' as Ralph Glaber persists in calling it) he had already (1007) been declared heir by his childless uncle, King Rudolf III. Rudolf was a weak man, and the fair valleys of Rhone and Saône were always seething with civil war. Thietmar[1] had the poorest opinion of the country from the governmental point of view; the barons are 'milites regis in nomine, domini in re,' and Henry, he says, 'returned sad' from his expedition thither. But the Burgundian Church was nothing if not Cluniac, and Henry at the end of his reign had formed an alliance with it against his own German Church; backed up by Cluny, by King Robert of France, and by the Pope, he arranged for a great council of the Western Church to meet at Pavia. He even persuaded the Pope to deprive his greatest archbishop, Aribo of Mainz, of his *pallium;* Cologne had already been won to the same side when

[1] vii., 21.

Pope Benedict VIII. died in 1024, and was succeeded by his most un-Cluniac brother Romanus as John XIX. This made it clear that the Papacy itself would need reforming before it could reform the Church of Germany, and Henry himself died three months after Benedict.

If Henry's patient activity north of the Alps had borne little fruit visible to his contemporaries, his Italian policy cannot be said to have done more than keep alive the imperial idea. The contrast between the life of Germany, wholly a land of manors, rents-in-kind, and vast forests, and that of Italy, a land whose energies were once again chiefly concentrated within walled cities, was very great. Life was probably as insecure in the one as in the other, but in Italy the nobles built their towers and cut their enemies' throats inside the cities, in Germany they practised these arts outside such cities as existed. In Italy the spirit of civic rivalry was spreading from the South to the North; already Pisa was eclipsing Amalfi as an adventurous maritime and commercial power. Pisa and Genoa were ousting the Sicilian Moslem from Sardinia and Corsica. The South was seething with feuds between Greeks, Lombard counts, and plundering Saracens, but the nominal authority of Basil II. (the Bulgar-slayer) had the preponderance; Calabria was again becoming a Greek-speaking province, and in it the Greek Church outlived the Byzantine dominion for many years. Apulia on the other hand remained Latin and Lombard, and the Greek dominion in it was confined to the coast towns and fortresses.

Ardoin's ground as King of Italy was most insecure, for he had the Lombard bishops definitely against him; he could beat off the first small force that Henry sent to Italy in 1003, but he had to give way when Henry himself came in the next year and was crowned at Pavia. The hostility which the insolence of foreign soldiers, especially Germans, so often provoked in Italian cities, led to a riot on the evening of this coronation, and in that riot half Pavia was burned. Ten years elapsed before Henry could come to Italy again; during the interval Ardoin

seems to have got back power in the North, but by the date of Henry's second invasion his bolt was shot, and he died in a monastery in 1015.

Pope Benedict VIII., though himself of the family of the Tusculan counts, was quite ready to receive Henry and Henry's friend, Abbot Odilo of Cluny, and to press on reform of the Church. He went to meet them in 1014 at Ravenna, where a synod ordered the restoration of all stolen church property, and accompanied them to Rome, where he crowned Henry and Cunigunda Emperor and Empress. But into the southern imbroglio, which had been so fatal to the Ottonian Empire, Henry did not at present venture to thrust himself. Ever since the battle of Rossano the Greeks had been winning back their old provinces, and had made Bari the chief stronghold of their power; it was governed by an official called a Κατεπάν,[1] on which name the Italian philologists of the day based the word 'Capitanato' to describe the district ruled by this minister. Everyone in Southern Italy, though quite ready to squabble with everyone else, and to change sides at short notice, was even more ready to fall upon the Greeks; the Lombards of the South were now at heart as fully Italianate as those of the North. Ready to the hands of the quarrelsome elements of this region, appeared, early in the eleventh century (we do not know the exact date[2]), a very small band of Norman pilgrims, perhaps on their way back from the Holy Land. To stop and kill a few Moslems at the siege of Salerno was obviously to them a holiday-task not without spiritual profit; and one must suppose them to have proved so efficient at this task that their services soon came to be sought by more than one province or city, such as Salerno, Benevento, Monte-Cassino. In brief, they sent for some of their friends from Normandy; there were many adventurers there only too ready to escape from Duke Richard's stern and good government, and to stipulate for rewards in Italian land. The details do not matter; by

[1] Glaber (iii., 2) calls him Catapontus.

[2] See Glaber, iii., 1.

1020 there was, south of the Liris, the nucleus of a race which was destined to found for itself there a kingdom far more brilliant than, though not so long lived, and perhaps not quite so rich, as that which it was to found half a century later in England.

Now Benedict VIII. had real reason to fear the progress of the Greek Καταπάν, who, after defeating a South-Italian combination at Cannæ in 1017, had actually reached the Liris; and in his fear he called upon Henry. Henry, now more or less quit of Polish troubles, came in the autumn of 1021 with a larger army than usual, and, without any great victory over the Greeks themselves, reduced such Lombard princes and towns as favoured them to some sort of submission. He besieged, but failed to take, a new city called Troy, which in 1018 the Καταπάν had founded to guard the Apulian frontier and to threaten Benevento; then turned homeward, with his forces much reduced by pestilence, and perhaps looked upon the incoming Normans only as likely to prove a useful bridle to the Greeks. We know very little of what the Normans were doing during the next few years, except that their numbers must have increased rapidly, and it seems probable that some one (perhaps a Duke of Naples) had given the city of Aversa to Ranulf the Norman before 1030; Aversa is just north of Naples, on the road to Rome. Henry had, however, in his three expeditions, 'shown the Empire' to the Italians as the power which ought normally to be called in to keep order; but, being an intelligent man, he must have known that disorder would begin again or ever the last German lances had vanished over the Brenner. If we take it all round, Henry's record was no bad one; in a twenty-two years' reign he had striven everywhere to compose internal feuds; he had made three expeditions to Italy, fought three great wars with Poland; he had kept upon excellent terms with a good and active Pope, with a good and active if rather powerless, King of France; had made a warm friendship with Cluny in days when Cluny was at its best;[1]

[1] My readers will, I hope, understand that 'Cluny,' in these and

and had kept something of a hand upon the great German bishops. Perhaps the best testimony to his success is that, in the interregnum that followed his death, there was no serious outbreak of the feuds he had composed; his widow Cunigunda practically acted as regent, and kept the *insignia* of the Reich safe till she could deliver them to a new king.

The national yet unreforming party in the German Church had had a rude shake in the last two or three years of Henry's rule, and, on his death in 1024, was determined not to have another *pious* king at present; the temporary alliance of Crown and Papacy had seemed to be a distinct threat against national independence. We do not know the real story of the election of Conrad II., the first of the Salian family, and the traditional story cannot be accepted. Three things are, however, pretty clear, first that the great bishops led the nation to an election, which took place at Lörzweiler on the left bank of the Rhine, between Mainz and Worms, two months after Henry's death; secondly, that there were two candidates, each named Conrad,[1] both great-grandsons of that Conrad the Red who fell at the Lechfeld in 955 and of Otto I.'s daughter; thirdly, that the election was to some extent a trial of strength between the national and the reforming parties, and that the former won, Mainz and Worms being its stoutest supporters against the 'pious' Cologne and Lorraine. Conrad II. was a stout practical soldier of thirty-four; he was most unclerically-minded, and had made an uncanonical marriage with a widowed Duchess of Swabia; his power rested on the middle and upper Rhine. Karl Wilhelm Nitzsch calls him a 'freeman of the Rhineland,' and compares him to Louis the German.[2]

the following pages, means not so much the actual Burgundian monastery, or even its abbots, as the spirit of church-reform that overspread Western Europe from that centre.

[1] Conrad the Elder, who now became king, would by any primogenitary law have already been Duke of Carinthia, but his father's claims on that duchy (which had been held by his grandfather) had been passed over in favour of a younger brother.

[2] *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, ii., 20, ed. Matthäi, Leipzig, 1892.

We have an excellent 'Life' of him by the Burgundian clerk Wipo,[1] who was court-chaplain both to him and his son, and tutor to the latter; it is full of praise, 'there had been no such Kaiser since Charlemagne'; 'Conradus Caroli premit ascensoria regis.' Following the example of Henry II., Conrad rode round Germany to receive the homage of the duchies, and, though Cologne came over to him very soon, he found the Lorraine lay vassals rather stiff. Saxony, however, from which as a Franconian he had most to fear, welcomed him (perhaps because it was as un-Cluniac as himself), and Bavaria and Swabia proved quite tractable. At Constance in 1025 he received an embassy with homage from many of the Lombards, whose leader was the great Archbishop Herbert of Milan.

It is not my purpose to describe German insurrections; we have very little means of knowing what an insurrection in the eleventh century, before the days of real castles, looked like, nor of knowing how many men with what weapons could be called out by an insurgent duke or bishop; it is to be presumed that the rebels would generally try to seize royal manor-houses, drive off the cattle, destroy the crops, and burn the rude wooden fortifications of such houses; and that, if caught at this task, they could take refuge in the dense forests.[2] The points to grasp concerning them are really two, first that they were little more than an extension of the right of private war which was the right of every German noble; and secondly, that they were apt to spread themselves into tribal risings. Conrad, for example, may be defied by a Duke of Lorraine, and the result will be that his whole north-west frontier will be disturbed; as he is anti-Cluniac, King Robert of France, being wholly at the disposal of Cluny, and perhaps Robert's restless vassal the

[1] Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi II. Imperatoris*, ed. Pertz, *Scriptores in usum Scholarum*, Hanover, 1853. It was composed about 1045 and dedicated to Henry III. For an appreciation of it see Giesebrecht, ii., 562.

[2] When such a great story-teller as Gustav Freytag has failed (in *Die Ahnen*) to make such things live for us, it is better not to attempt illustration.

Count of Champagne, are likely to support the insurgents. When the male line of this Lorraine Duke Frederick comes to an end in 1033 or 1034, Conrad makes one of his few mistakes; in his anxiety to get a good strong watch-dog on his western frontier, he unites the two duchies of Upper and Lower Lorraine in the same hand,[1] that of his friend Gozelo, who then gets an overlordship of some of the richest lands of the Empire, stretching from amphibious Frisia to the plateau of Langres and Alsace; Conrad's son will live to see his father's mistake. Again Conrad's stepson, Ernest of Swabia, keeps things lively in Swabia for the first six years of the reign, and can get a certain amount of support in anarchic Burgundy; he keeps bad company, and protects robbers whom Conrad has 'put to the ban'; and the result is that the whole of Swabia is disturbed until Ernest is hunted down and killed in 1030 in the Black Forest. It is not, however, so badly disturbed as it might have been if Conrad had not made it his great object to befriend and uphold the small feudality against the great. He always triumphed over insurrections; but what we expect to find but don't find, is that he did this by making a close alliance with the rising towns and their inhabitants. There is no trace of this, no trace of a civic militia looking to the crown as its champion against anarchic feudalism. German trade and the burgess-class were in their infancy, were indeed hardly born.[2] We must remember that the country had only one bit of coast-line, the very difficult and dangerous North Sea. Nor had it any long-descended 'history' of cultivation or of trade; the lowlands of the Rhine were the only part that had been under the plough from Roman times. There was no doubt some wine-trade down the Rhine to Cologne and England; and at Cologne

[1] Of course Conrad could not give away the alodial property of the late family; this went to Duke Frederick's two daughters, one of whom married Boniface of Tuscany and became mother of the great Countess Matilda.

[2] It is fairly obvious that, throughout his work, Giesebrecht antedates the prosperity, individuality, and trade of the cities.

this perhaps already met the fur-trade coming by a very old route across the Westphalian plain from the heathen Baltic lands. It is to be supposed, but there is little means of proving, that some goods passed up and down the Danube, and some over the Brenner pass; but, with these possible exceptions, the south and centre of Germany were touched by no trade route at all; life in them was wholly manorial and self-supporting, and the very pedlars who carried for sale the few surplus goods from the estates of a Bishop of Bamberg, or a Swabian Count, were oftenest serfs of some manor. The growth of villages, however, not only in population but in number, is steady throughout the eleventh century, and in spite of civil war colonisation is not merely external, it is internal as well.

The burgesses are wholly in the hands of their bishops, and when Conrad gives market-rights and tolls to a city like Cologne, or Mainz, or Dortmund, he is really giving them to the bishop in whose see they lie. The earliest German municipal custom that has survived, that of Strassburg in 1131, shows the bishop as the centre of everything; the town-court is his court, all the officers are his. If at the end of the eleventh century Henry IV. was able occasionally to levy a few tolls on the towns, his son had to hand them all back to the bishops. But this is for the good of the city, for it profits the bishops to encourage trade, and it is also for the good of the crown, for the king can take a larger money-present from the person whom he nominates to be bishop; the Church has not yet called this, and perhaps never ought to have called it, 'simony.' Unquestionably, Conrad did treat the offices of the Church, whether bishoprics or abbeys, in a drastic lay fashion; when he found a cleric thoroughly to his mind he piled abbey upon abbey upon his shoulders.[1] But unquestionably also he did much, through the agency of such men, to develop peaceful markets by granting a special 'peace' to merchants, a special and permanent 'peace' to places of market. It is very difficult for us to conceive a state of

[1] His son Henry III., according to Glaber (v., 5, 25), said he had grave doubts concerning his father's soul in consequence of this sin.

society in which peace was so much the exception that such grants were necessary. It is about this time that we begin to hear of the *weichbild*—something, oftenest a cross, hoisted in a town as the symbol of this special peace; as if it were 'No robbers allowed here.' We also begin to hear of an official called the Burg-graf or Burgrave entrusted with maintenance of this market-peace;[1] in several Saxon towns, and in one non-Saxon (Regensburg) we find merchant gilds existing.[2]

We should then, I think, be wrong if we looked upon Conrad as rallying the elements of the nation for a struggle against anarchy; but right if we considered his reign as paving the way for those elements to grow. He began to gather round himself loyal 'ministeriales,' both knights and administrators of crown property; he reclaimed much land that had been alienated from the crown; he bound, wherever he could, the smaller nobility to the crown and thereby loosened their ties to the dukes and bishops; and, whether with or without express edict, he recognised the indefeasible heritability of all fiefs,[3] with the exception of the five great duchies. Very probably he took this line just because his father and himself had actually been despoiled of their claim to the Duchy of Carinthia in favour of a younger branch of the line of his ancestor Conrad the Red. Though it was hopeless to treat the ducal power any longer as official, whenever a duchy fell in (and three fell in in his reign[4]) he gave it to his son to administer; so when he died only Saxony and Lorraine were in non-Salian hands. As we should expect, he was no great builder of, or benefactor to, churches; but the Cathedral of Speyer, in which the remains of his ill-used grandson were at last allowed to rest, was begun by him. He also founded an abbey at Limburg.

[1] Perhaps a Caroling official, but not mentioned in the tenth century. The stone statue of Roland, which stands outside the Rathaus at Bremen, is believed to be a copy of an earlier *weichbild*.

[2] It does not follow that there were not many more; the earliest mention of a German gild is at Magdeburg in 975.

[3] *Vide infra*, pp. 46, 141.

[4] Bavaria 1027, Swabia 1038, Carinthia 1039.

On his frontiers Conrad was much more successful than Henry had been. He staved off the hostility of Henry I. of France by the present of an enormous lion.[1] He secured himself a thoroughly good friend in the far north by ceding, probably at the time of his coronation, the Mark of Schleswig to our Canute, and this was all to the profit of the Christian mission which the see of Bremen was now again taking up on the Lower Elbe; thus also the Eider was definitely established as the German boundary for eight centuries to come, and one of the present writer's earliest recollections is of its violation by Prussia in 1864. On the south-west, Rudolf of Burgundy was in 1027 formally reinvested with his kingdom, as an imperial fief to revert to Conrad on his death; and when Rudolf died in 1032, although a nationalist party contested the German claim for some two years, Conrad ended by being crowned in 1034 in both divisions, Upper and Lower, of the little kingdom. This possession was of enormous advantage from the Italian point of view, as it gave Germany control of all the western passes of the Alps; but on the other hand it threw more widely open the door to those Cluniac influences which were to sap the nationalism of the German bishops. On the east, Poland, where one Mesko or Mickyslav was now ruling, proved a tough job for Conrad until 1031, but by that date complete submission was made, the trans-Albian Margraviate of Lusatia was won back, and Poland began to weaken itself by civil wars. In the south-east, however, the frontier-war was less successful; there was always fighting going on between Bavarians and Hungarians in the Danube region, and in 1030 a peace left the enemy in possession of the debatable land between the rivers Fischa and Leitha.

Italy was altogether another story, though here too Conrad did his very best. The Papacy remained throughout the reign a Tusculan family-bishopric, first in the hands of John XIX., brother of the late Benedict VIII., and then (1033) in those of his nephew, Benedict IX., a most

[1] Glaber, iv., 8.

scandalous boy who, elected at the early age of twelve, soon embarked on a career of vice which recalled the days of John XII.[1] Conrad did not feel called upon to meddle in questions of papal morality; he looked only to practical politics, and the burning question was not Rome at all, but Mediolanum[2] or Milan. There the great Archbishop Herbert, lord of the city in temporal matters as well as prince of the Church, was undoubtedly playing for a North-Italian patriarchate; while the great lay nobles, perhaps the dregs of Ardoin's party, began by offering the crown of Italy to a scion of the House of Aquitaine. Herbert, however, decided in favour of Conrad who came in 1026, was crowned at Milan, went on to Rome and was crowned there by Pope John. It was this coronation at which King Canute was present in pilgrim's garb, and it was probably now that he betrothed his daughter Gunhilda to Conrad's son Henry, and received the Mark of Schleswig.[3] It was not an anti-clerical coronation, but it was distinctly an unclerical one; yet Abbot Odilo, who was present, made no protest against the condition of the Papacy, and the watch-dogs of Cluny seemed to sleep. A very short visit to the South, during which the Emperor received the

[1] 'Woe to the land,' says Glaber, with unusual humour (v., 17), 'whose *Pope* is a child.'

[2] So called, says the great mediæval etymologist Isidor (*Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri xx.*, ed. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911, xv., 1, 57) from a half-woolly sow who was found there. Otto of Freising (*Gesta Frederici*, ii., 14, ed. Waitz, *Scriptores in usum Scholarum*, Hanover, 1884) explains that the sow was half-woolly and half-bristly; but he prefers the more reasonable explanation that the city lay midway between the mountains and the Po.

[3] The dates are quite uncertain (see Giesebrecht, note, ii., 630). The actual marriage of Gunhilda and Henry did not take place till 1036. It is also probable that there was a treaty between Canute and Conrad before their meeting in Rome, see Adam of Bremen (*Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ Pontificum*, ed. Lappenberg, re-ed. Waitz, 1876, *Scriptores in usum Scholarum*, ii., 54, 63); Adam says the treaty was mediated by the Archbishop of Bremen. Adam was probably brought to Bremen by Archbishop Adalbert; he became a canon of the Cathedral, and schoolmaster of the Cathedral school. The book, which is almost our only contemporary authority for North Germany at this period, was finished by about 1075.

homage of one or two cities like Benevento and Salerno, followed; and the chief result of his first expedition to Italy was that Conrad got some Italian troops to help him in the subjugation of Burgundy. These were mainly the contribution of Milan and of Boniface, the new Margrave of Tuscany, who with Conrad's favour was building up a great power between the Apennines and the Po, with the fortress of Canossa as a centre.[1] Another great house founded its fortunes on the Burgundo-Italian frontier at this time; Humbert 'of the White Hand,' ancestor of the present King of Italy, received lands in the Alpine regions which later ages called 'Savoy' and 'Dauphiné.' Conrad had, however, as yet done little to conjure away the real danger that had threatened Italy from the victorious Bulgar-slaying army of the Greeks; and it was not from any German emperor that the future deliverance from this danger was to come.

In the meantime, while Conrad was busy with Hungarians, Poles, and Burgundians, the Archbishop of Milan was drawing nearer to the great lay feudatories of Lombardy, and, as a result, was awaking the fears of the lesser nobles, the small feudatories of the same class as those in whom Conrad was wont to confide in Germany; a civil war broke out in Lombardy in 1035, and Conrad came in the next year to quell it. Each side seems to have appealed to him, but when he came he found, or professed to find, a string of well-grounded complaints against Herbert; oppression of small nobles, usurpation of imperial power, and so on. Herbert put on a bold front, defended all his aggressions and swore he would maintain them; several other Lombard bishops and, most ominously, the citizens of Milan were upon his side. Conrad acted with great vigour; without even the shadow of an ecclesiastical synod, he deposed the Archbishop and

[1] Boniface was probably a descendant of a Margrave to whom Otto I. had given the fortress of Canossa. In 1036 he married, with Conrad's goodwill, Beatrix, the daughter and heiress of Frederick of Lorraine. One can hardly doubt that, in favouring him at the expense of Archbishop Herbert, the emperor was only substituting one dangerous rival for another. See Giesebrecht, ii., 319.

imprisoned him. The Papacy made no protest nor, so far as we know, did Cluny (for Herbert was quite anti-Cluniac and anti-Roman), but perhaps it was one of the things that woke Cluny from its sleep. For the moment it was more serious that Herbert escaped from prison and threw himself into his city of Milan, which proved impregnable to Conrad and to his best ally, Boniface of Tuscany. Such a successful defiance of the imperial power was bound to make other Italian cities feel self-conscious. Conrad had, however, won real support from the small nobles by his express recognition in 1037 of the heritability of all fiefs in Italy; no man was to alienate his fief, and no man to be deprived of a fief but by jury of his equals and after appeal to the emperor; no services were to be exacted other than those customary. It was a veritable feudal charter; 'if Italy is hungry for laws, by the grace of God I'll feed her,' said Conrad.[1] We do not know whether the edict was formally extended to Germany also, and nothing is so dark as the limits of feudal obligation before the days of the Hohenstaufen. Lothair, indeed, a century after Conrad, sanctioned the alienation of fiefs if the leave of the overlord were obtained.

Less wise, perhaps, because the ally was so dreadfully wicked, was the support which Conrad now proceeded to give to Pope Benedict IX. against his domestic enemies; but we have to remember that Benedict had supported the Emperor against Herbert of Milan. Also, on this second occasion, Conrad, when he came South, interfered to more purpose than in 1027 in the Græco-Lombardo-Norman tangle. He found one Pandulf of Capua at bitter feud with the Abbey of Monte-Cassino and making himself a terror to all other princes and cities; he deposed Pandulf, appointed a German abbot to the great mother of monasteries, and granted the city and county of Aversa[2] to the Normans, who by this time had increased to a goodly company (1038).

[1] Wipo, c., 34.

[2] Perhaps not so much as a fief of the Empire as a fief of Salerno, which state Conrad favoured at the expense of Pandulf.

Greek influence had rapidly declined since the death of Basil II. in 1025, and Southern Italy was stewing in its own anarchic juice without much interference from Constantinople. So far no Norman had touched Apulia, but in this same year three hundred Normans helped in a Greek expedition against Sicily, in which Messina, Syracuse, and some other places were taken from the Moslem. These Normans deserted as soon as the Greek pay-chest was empty, but immediately proceeded to help the coming revolt against the Greeks, which began in 1041. In short, they were mercenary brigands, and everyone spoke of them as such. But Conrad's gift was the first definite recognition of their new power, which henceforth never ceased from its aggression on all its neighbours until it was lord of the 'Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.' Wipo[1] expressly says that Conrad looked upon these Normans as a useful counterpoise to the Greeks. On his way back Conrad again failed to take Milan, the German army being, as usual, decimated by pestilence; and he died at Utrecht in 1039, leaving his son Henry unquestioned heir to something very like a hereditary German Kingdom,[2] and with strong hereditary claims on the crown of the Roman Empire.

The reign of Henry III. has generally been regarded as the culminating point of the old German 'Kaiser-time,' and, in spite of much recent adverse criticism of this view there seems to me little reason to dispute the traditional verdict; yet perhaps it would be too much to suppose that Henry, if he had been granted a longer life, could have successfully anticipated William the Conqueror or Philip Augustus, and become the founder of a powerful centralised monarchy. He would at least have had a very tough task, for he was actually losing ground to the princes when he died. Conrad had certainly bequeathed to him the nucleus of a central administration in the loyal body of

[1] Wipo, c., 71.

[2] His father had, according to the custom of all wise kings of the day, procured the coronation of Henry during his own lifetime and in Henry's childhood (1028).

'ministeriales,' whom some will look on as real private soldiers and councillors, others only as parallels to the 'King's thegns' of the West-Saxon monarchy, say in Edgar's time. From Henry's reign dates the organisation of three separate chanceries, as centres of administration, the Archbishop of Mainz acting for Germany, he of Cologne for Italy, and he of Besançon for Burgundy. Did Henry give himself a fair chance of improving upon Conrad's administration? Giesebrecht is, I think, expecting too much of an eleventh-century king when he complains that his hero introduced no system of law, no new institutions. But he is right in pointing out that, except in the churchmen, Henry neither sought nor found a basis of support from any one great class in Germany, such as Conrad had found in the lesser nobles and small fief-holders. The truth is that Henry, who was immensely generous to his friends, and far too merciful to his foes, bound men rather to his person than to his office. And certainly he made a mess of the question of how to fill up the escheated duchies, which he gave both to the wrong sort of men (usually to men who had no families), and to wrong individuals who ended by rebellion. On the other hand, and here I think he was right, he hacked them about and carved margraviates out of them, began in fact to break them up. But he never carried through one consistent policy with regard to them. And not only the excessive favour which he showed to the bishoprics, but also the way in which he screwed his great lay vassals for money (on their investitures) irritated the princes; no doubt he was driven to do this because his horror of simony made it impossible for him to receive presents from the bishops in return for their appointments.

It is quite clear that Henry was a man of moral, intellectual, and physical strength, with very black hair, tall like all the Salians, 'a head and shoulders above his court,' says Wipo, with all the education the age could give, and a valiant knight and prudent commander, trained to arms from his earliest years. He had been a loyal helper of his father all his life, and, if he failed to widen

that father's practical basis of government, he at least breathed into it his own high aims and ideals. He inspired real love in his subjects where Conrad had only inspired fear, and he unquestionably won for Germany the first place in Europe. His piety was sincere and ever active, and his ecclesiastical appointments would not be of Conrad's fashion; he took from Cluny what was useful for his people but no more. He was twenty-two at Conrad's death; his first wife Gunhilda was already dead, leaving only a daughter, and he did not marry again till 1043.

On his homage-journey round the German duchies Henry was very well received, and nowhere better than in Lorraine, where Gozelo, till his death in 1044, remained his right hand. To Augsburg the great men of Italy came and professed complete obedience, and Herbert of Milan, who had continued in rebellion till the end of Conrad's life, actually came as far as Ingelheim to make his submission. The eastern frontier at once gave the usual trouble; Poland, not from its strength, but from civil war and a heathen reaction after Mesko's death; Hungary from the same cause after the death of 'Saint' Stephen in 1038; Bohemia from a different cause, the excessive piety and vigour of Duke Bretislav, who was overrunning much of Poland, stealing St Adalbert's bones from Gnesen to carry them to Prague, asking for Prague a metropolitanate and for himself a crown.

Henry after one failure got to Prague and dealt faithfully with this aspirant, compelling him to do homage for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia—the last province being a recent theft from Poland; for the rest of Poland one Casimir did homage. One must certainly praise highly the king's merciful treatment of Bretislav, for its results were to make Bohemia the firm ally of the Salians and Hohenstaufen for the next century and more. Hungary was a more serious matter and cost six big campaigns; but after a great victory on the river Raab the lost frontier-district up to the Leitha was won back, and Henry was at least recognised as overlord. Hungary, however, was never really for long dependent, and heathenism continued

to give much trouble there for many years. Later in the reign a German rebel duke (Bavaria) fled to Hungary, and Henry had to undertake three wars against King Andrew, 1050-1-2; his failure to take Pressburg in the last of these years marked, in fact, the turn of fortune against him. One result of the contest of the early Salian kings with Hungary was the steady development of one of the best of the German states, the Mark of Austria.[1] The Duchy of Carinthia was also reduced to a Mark (for the time only), and before the end of Henry's reign the map of the south-eastern corner of the Reich begins to wear its later look, with the Alpine and sub-Alpine provinces of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. All were at one time or another hacked out of the old Duchy of Bavaria, and were not yet formally separated from that duchy. On the whole, I think that high praise is due to Henry for his eastern frontier policy.

Much more remarkable is his attitude towards the internal feuds of his German kingdom, and it is on this point that those who question his fame have the strongest case in their favour. He did not in any high-handed manner attempt to question the right of his princes to make private war, nor did he import, though perhaps he would have liked to import, the French and Burgundian system of the Truce of God; but he laboured incessantly at effecting reconciliations of particular feuds. Once from the Cathedral pulpit at Constance in 1043, and again on the battlefield after his Hungarian victory of 1044, he set a most unusual example by publicly declaring that he forgave all against whom as king he had feud. Whether this was a wise policy at the time may well be questioned, for it might obviously be held to include all malefactors and highway robbers. Henry's incorrigible mercy ought to have been more often tempered with justice in the case of Godfrey, Duke of Upper Lorraine, who, backed by the Counts of Hainault, Holland, and Flanders, was at perpetual feud with his Kaiser, as well as with the bishops on the Meuse and lower Rhine, especially with Liège.

[1] See Vol. I., pp. 340, 353, 369.

Godfrey is indeed a figure of the first importance in German history. All rebels before his time, even Henry the Quarrelsome, were babies at the trade compared to him, and it is quite a tenable view that but for him a real monarchy might have been consolidated in Germany. He was the elder son of that Gozelo, to whom Conrad had given both Lorraines. He had fought valiantly for his father and for Henry, and not unnaturally, when his father died, expected to be invested with both duchies. Henry, however, gave Lower Lorraine to Godfrey's younger brother Gozelo, and when this Gozelo, who was a fool, died, Henry went on to give the said duchy to a particular enemy of Godfrey's. Godfrey at once broke out into rebellion, and showed himself not only a hard fighter, but a consummate diplomatist. He threw himself into the arms of France, he stirred up rebellion in Burgundy, he extended his schemes into Italy, and began to practise on the loyalty (of itself none too firm) of old Marquis Boniface of Tuscany. Above all, he found an ally ready to his hand in the stout Baldwin, Count of Flanders, who did not quite know whether he were more vassal of France or of the Empire, and wished to be independent of both. Yet I think it is unquestionable that, if Henry had crushed Godfrey at once and either killed or shut him up for life, all rebellion would have been at an end. Over and over again he forgave this incorrigible rebel, who at last made all crushing of himself impossible by going off to Italy (1054) and marrying the widow of Marquis Boniface, and so founding the dangerous connection between Tuscany and Lorraine.

Almost as important as the Lorraine business, is the course of events in Saxony, because it was here that another side of the policy of Henry III. began to be revealed. Saxony, and especially the eastern (Ostphalian) district on the lower Elbe was a land of small nobles, mostly very poor, and of well-to-do peasants who had kept, while other German peasants had lost, their fighting instincts. Its leading family, the descendants of Hermann Billung, the Margrave appointed by Otto I., were not really Dukes of Saxony, though often spoken of as such, but were

rather possessors of the ducal title with control of the Eastern Marks; they were not very rich in lands, and had little real power. Of the temper of its lesser bishops a story told by Lambert of Hersfeld[1] enables one to judge; his Lordship of Hildesheim, wishing to destroy a certain count, hid men behind the altar of a church at Goslar, and exhorted them not to be afraid of killing from reverence for the place, for 'his authority would cover that.' But all Saxons were inclined to combine against Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen (1045-1072), who was striving both to make his see a patriarchate of the North,[2] and perhaps also to extend his episcopal power into a ducal power in Saxony. That he was an ardent supporter of the missions to Scandinavia, Iceland, and Greenland, to the heathen Wends and other Slavs beyond the Elbe, and on the Baltic, brought him little favour with the more northern Saxons, among whom indeed heathen practices still lingered.[3] But in season and out of season Adalbert built stone houses, planted vineyards (on the lower Elbe!), and encouraged trade, especially the fur trade from the Eastern Baltic. The break-up of the Danish power, after the death of our Canute, was undoubtedly followed by the extension of German influence in Mecklenburg, where Adalbert was able to draw two newly founded bishoprics into the province of Bremen. Magnus, King of Norway, the son of King Olaf, was the first Northern prince to bid for the whole of Canute's continental inheritance; he beat the Jomsburg Vikings to bits at Heidaby (Schleswig) in 1043,

[1] *Lamperti Monachi Hersfeldensis opera*, ed. Holder-Egger, Hanover, 1894, p. 82 (*Scriptores in usum Scholarum*).

[2] Adalbert seems to have knocked at the door of Rome to get sanction for this; Rome did not exactly snub him, but any real extension of the power of metropolitans was the very last thing that the reviving Papacy was likely to wish, and so the idea came to nothing. The third Book of Adam of Bremen is entirely filled with the story of his patron Adalbert; see especially iii., 32.

[3] 'The Slavs,' said Swein Estrithson, 'could easily have been converted but for the greed of the Saxons, who think more of collecting rents than of missions.'—Adam of Bremen, iii., 22.

and was as ardent a Christian crusader as his father. Then Swein Estrithson, nephew of Canute, got hold of Denmark, and, in close alliance with Adalbert and Henry III., prosecuted Christian missionary efforts and wars against Baltic heathen.

Now Henry was a warm friend of Adalbert's, but it is quite possible that even Henry thought that the archbishop was going too far and too fast. He had his own end to gain in Saxony, and it was not easy of attainment. This was, in brief, to make a real centre for the German kingdom in the rich silver-bearing district of the Harz Mountains. The Saxon people were already grumbling at the row of fortresses which Henry was building around his new palace of Goslar, for it was at Goslar that the royal residence was to be fixed. We must remember that a 'monarchy,' in the sense of a power to protect all the weak against all the strong, was as yet almost an unknown thing to the German peasant, and that the presence of a Court mainly suggested to his mind the probability that he would be squeezed to pay more pigs and eggs and fish for the royal household, perhaps to pay actual services of castle-building and mining. The way was thus paved for the discontent of Saxony, which lasted far through the twelfth century. It is quite possible that the results would have been the same if the king had tried to build up a royal power in any other corner of Germany, though Saxony was certainly an unlucky *corpus* for the experiment. Any and every attempt of any Salian or Hohenstaufen to take taxes or tolls or fines that were not customary was regarded as robbery and was resisted effectively. So was any attempt to enforce the principle of escheat. If Godfrey of Lorraine was making himself the spokesman of the lay princes against clerical strong-government in the north-west, the Saxon people might find a champion in their Billung Duke, or even in their Archbishop of Magdeburg, who was bitterly jealous of Bremen.

For it was clerical strong-government, or rather strong-government based upon a close alliance with the progressive elements in the German Church, that was at the

bottom of the work both of Henry and of Adalbert. Adalbert was no Cluniac, but none the less he was threatening the old German tribal independence which Cluny, from another point of view, was also threatening. Henry himself was not an extreme partisan of Cluny, but he was a partisan of all the best ideas of Cluny, which were as little to the taste of German laymen as was anything like strong-government, as little too as they were to the taste of bishops like him of Hildesheim. Henry's second marriage in 1043 had undoubtedly made him more Cluniac; Agnes of Poitou, youngest daughter of William V., Duke of Aquitaine, came from a land almost as Cluniac as Burgundy itself.[1] Liège, under Bishop Wazo, was also a great centre of Cluniac influence, and was the protagonist for the Government against Godfrey of Lorraine; and perhaps one of the bad features in the situation was that Henry was quite inclined to get foreign assistance against his own rebels, French help against Lorraine, English[2] and Danish help against the Saxons. That he would not scruple to bring foreign influence to bear on the German Church is obvious.

Were he Cluniac or not, it was only in Henry that Cluny could at this time hope. The scandalous condition of the Papacy leaped, as the Frenchmen say, to the eyes of all Europe that regarded such things. Distant and pious England went on paying Peter's pence whatever the Pope was like, but one may suppose that Edward the Confessor would have been much horrified if he had realised that Benedict IX. ended by selling the Papacy to a rich archpriest called Gratian in 1045, or that there were in 1046 three persons, each claiming to be pope at the same time. Henry perhaps acted prudently in

[1] A land, too, in which perhaps was already foreshadowed the 'gay science' of the troubadours: in Agnes's train to Germany came minstrels and jugglers, thinking to make their fortunes; Henry dismissed them all at once; 'no French morals here' was his view.

[2] This rests only on one passage of Florence of Worcester, who is writing at least fifty years later. See Giesebrecht's note, ii., 660.

waiting for the scandal to come to a visible head, and to shock even the Romans themselves, before he interfered. He was already absolute master of the North Italian Church, and appointed as bishops whom he would; when one of his own nominees at Ravenna committed some uncanonical acts Henry, in the teeth of his own German bishops, but with Cluniac support, deposed him.

The strange thing is that the simoniac Gratian who had bought the Papacy was not only a reformer at heart, but that the high-church party, by the mouths of Peter Damiani and of a young cleric of short stature, plebeian origin, and ungainly figure, called HILDEBRAND, desired to keep him in the chair of St Peter; Henry I. of France was quite ready to acknowledge him. But Henry III. of Germany would have none of this; he came to Italy as lord and master in 1046, deposed at the Synod of Sutri all three popes, was nominated 'patrician' by the Romans themselves,[1] and, in that or in his imperial capacity, did during his last ten years nominate four successive popes, all of them from beyond the Alps. At his first Italian synod in 1046, he published on his own authority strong decrees against simony, and Gregory VI. (for that was the name Gratian had taken) was sent off in captivity to Cologne, with Hildebrand as his chaplain, where he soon died. On that journey no doubt Hildebrand got to know too much about the temper and the ways of German princes.

Henry's four nominees were all good men; the first of them, the Bishop of Bamberg, Clement II., crowned Henry and Agnes at Rome on Christmas day (Charlemagne's day), and, wonderful to relate, the coronation was not followed by the customary Roman riot. Peter Damiani, not himself a Cluniac, spoke with the voice of Cluny and cried Henry to the skies as another David and Josiah, another Charlemagne; a closer parallel, however, was that with Otto I. Clement published strong

[1] Apparently with the express purpose of giving him the actual nomination of the Pope. Words change their meaning; no such meaning had been attached to this word by Stephen II. in 754.

canons against simony, and then accompanied Henry on a short visit to Southern Italy which had little result, except that Henry took Capua away from Salerno and confirmed the Normans in the possession of Aversa.[1] On Clement's death in 1047, the Tusculan party raised its head again for a moment and recalled the deposed Benedict IX., whom Boniface of Tuscany was suspected of helping; but that was over in a few months and Henry successively appointed the Bishop of Brixen as Damasus II., and then Bruno, Bishop of Toul, a scion of the royal Salian House, as Leo IX.

Leo, who had already showed himself at Toul a strong partisan of the reforming party, entered Rome in 1049 as a pilgrim and barefoot, and refused to exercise his office until he had been confirmed, or perhaps even elected, by the Roman 'clergy and people.' By his side walked in the great-hearted Hildebrand; it would be attributing too early an influence to him to say that he had arranged the scene, but it must have been thoroughly to his taste.[2] Leo, during the five years of his papacy, held repeated synods both in Italy and in Northern Europe. Six times he crossed the Alps, and certainly proved himself a steadfast friend to Henry in his Lorraine troubles, excommunicating rebels, especially Godfrey, with great vigour, forbidding Baldwin of Flanders to give his daughter to her cousin William of Normandy, and the like. We find the Pope now at Rheims, now at Mainz, now at Vercelli, now at Rome, issuing the regulation anathemas against simony;

[1] I cannot subscribe to Giesebrecht's view (ii., 429) that Henry probably looked on the Normans as likely to be useful in an attack, which he may perhaps one day have contemplated, against the Eastern Empire. Indeed Henry's dealings with Southern Italy differ scarcely at all from those of his father.

[2] We cannot fairly accept all the clerical tradition about the power that Hildebrand wielded between the Synod of Sutri and the accession of Alexander II.; for instance, the story of his sojourn at Cluny is perhaps apocryphal, and it is not even certain that he had ever taken monastic vows. It is, however, entirely in (sceptical) deference to this 'latest opinion' that I have avoided speaking of him as a monk. For a corrective, see nearly all his contemporaries; see also Giesebrecht, ii., 662, on the subject of his influence at this date.

and, with these, another set of anathemas against the marriage of the clergy. The custom of the early Church upon this last point had been various, and its canons self-contradictory; one pope, Siricius, in 385, had expressly forbidden it, and it was undoubtedly a received tradition that bishops might not marry, and must even put away their wives if they were married before ordination; a second marriage had always been held to incapacitate a man from taking orders at all. But the majority of the lesser clergy were probably married, especially in Germany and in other countries remote from Cluniac influences. It was as an intensification, then, of the widespread spirit of Cluny that the new papalists seized their weapon of celibacy which they were to brandish with such effect against the German Church; and what it really meant was an extension of the monastic ideal to the parish clergy. The monks all over Europe would naturally hail with pleasure such a restriction upon the liberty of their rivals. We do not hear of much surprise or protest of the German clergy against it until Hildebrand himself became Pope; probably they did not feel secure enough of their position; they could not yet do without imperial support, and Henry, for his part, whatever may have been his private opinion, would hardly coerce his own best ally, the Church of Germany. But certainly in Leo's synods the German bishops at Mainz showed themselves much colder towards the aggressive Pope than the French bishops at Rheims had done.

On one of his apostolic journeys to the southward of Rome (1051), Leo IX. seems to have received the offer of the sovereignty of Benevento from its people, who no doubt were in dread of the progress of the Norman arms; perhaps some cities of Apulia also were negotiating with him.[1] That remarkable family, the sons of a well-to-do Cotentin baron Tancred de Hauteville,[2] were now seeking their

[1] There seems to have been great discontent all over the South at the cruelties of these Norman brigands, and there may perhaps have been some general cry for the Pope's help.

[2] He held a fief near Coutances owing the service of ten knights.

fortunes in the South: the first of them appeared in 1034, and the most famous, Robert Guiscard, in 1046 or 1047. Robert began by entering the service of Capua, but by 1050 he was engaged in the conquest of Calabria from the Greeks on his own account. He and the other Norman leaders incorporated many 'broken men' of Lombard, of Greek, even of Saracen, stock in their bands, and, though they would probably not yet have cared to face an imperial army, when there was none such in the field they held the balance in Southern Italy. Henry, so far, seems to have been content with their progress, for they were certain to oppose both Greeks and Saracens. Whether he was equally content with Leo's new sovereignty of Benevento is not clear;[1] but he seems to have given Leo a few German troops to help to defend it, and he would probably have given more, but for the energetic protest of Bishop Gebhard of Eichstätt. Having got these Leo, very rashly so far as we can see, attacked the Normans, who, for the first time, and because they now had their backs to the wall, combined their several bands into one army, cut Leo's few troops to pieces at Cività in 1053, and took the Pope prisoner. At first Leo seems to have been harshly treated, and he was probably only released, from fear of imperial intervention, in March 1054; we do not know the exact conditions of his release,[2] but he did not, as has been supposed, invest the Normans with the Duchy of Apulia, which by now was their object. Nor did Leo intend to sit down under the defeat; under the cloak of the Cluniac reformer beat the heart of the Salian prince, and he at once applied both to Constantinople and to Henry for

[1] Nor do we know how much of Beneventan territory Leo got; Gregory VII. got it all in 1077.

[2] Many historians have confused the terms made in this year with those of 1059, and represented them as an instance of Norman piety and cunning; 'the victors knelt on the battlefield to their captive, etc.' It is quite possible that some of these leaders knelt, as everyone was bound to kneel to a priest, but they evidently took care not to let the Pope go till he had given them a substantial blessing, probably in the shape of a confirmation of the territories they already held, *plus* some portion of the county of Benevento.

assistance against the Normans. It was upon this occasion that he demanded from Henry the restoration of all that Constantine the Great had 'given to the see of Rome.' But he had little time allowed him for all this, for he died five weeks after his release.[1]

The German bishops, perhaps reflecting upon the brevity of papal lives, showed no eagerness to accept the see of Rome; Adalbert of Bremen openly refused it, and it remained vacant for a year. It is interesting to see that Hildebrand now came again to Germany, no doubt to solicit Henry's support on behalf of the high-churchmen; and Henry's next choice, Victor II. (Bishop of Eichstätt[2]), began by demanding the restoration not indeed of the whole imaginary donation of Constantine, but of all papal property that had recently been alienated. Some of this was in the emperor's own hands and was at once restored to Victor; much was also retaken from other land-grabbers, including the Margrave of Tuscany. The person who had usurped that title was Godfrey, who, as I have said above, had married the widow of Boniface; Boniface himself had once shown symptoms of rebellion, but had thought better of it before he was poisoned in 1052. Godfrey, however, was a most dangerous person; he would form a centre for the union of rebels, now in Lorraine, now in Italy; it is possible that he even aimed at the Empire itself, and had grasped the idea of an alliance with the Normans, of whom Guiscard, for his part, was conquering towards the Apulian coast towns, while another leader, Richard, was overrunning Campania. If Godfrey should also grasp the idea of an alliance with a reformed Papacy?

Indeed, we can hardly say whether in Italy or in Germany the state of affairs in Henry's last years were

[1] It was in Leo's papacy that Macbeth, King of Scotland, distributed alms to the poor in Rome (*Marianus Scotus, sub anno* 1050, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cxlvii.); perhaps he was trying to buy absolution for Duncan's murder.

[2] The same person who had prevented Henry from sending an imperial army to help Leo against the Normans.

the more serious. Hungary had never really been subdued, Bavaria never really pacified;[1] Godfrey was as active as ever, Baldwin of Flanders was unbeaten in spite of a great raid of Henry's on his territory; Hainault had been temporarily overrun, the attitude of Henry I. of France was anything but reassuring.[2] If Boniface had been a secret, Godfrey was an open, disturber of the peace of Italy, and he had, acting with him, his younger brother Frederick, a high-church cleric of very dangerous temper and ambition.

It was such dangers as these that led to a second journey of Henry to Italy in 1055. There he held a Diet at Roncaglia for imperial, and a synod at Florence for ecclesiastical affairs. Godfrey had to skip back to Lorraine and resume there his intrigues with all malcontents (such as Flanders, Hungary, and the ex-Duke of Bavaria), leaving his wife and step-daughter, the latter soon to be known as the great Countess Matilda,[3] to be carried off as hostages by Henry. Frederick of Lorraine hid himself for the time in the monastery of Monte-Cassino. Henry strengthened the Pope's hands, no doubt unwisely, by giving him possession of the Duchy of Spoleto, and leaving him as 'Imperial Vicar' in Italy. He even went to the South, and this time, perhaps, he got some sort of Greek alliance against the growing danger from the Normans. But this only thinly disguised his failure. And in the summer of the same year he was called back by the news of a great conspiracy in Germany. On his return journey he betrothed his baby son (who had been crowned co-King of Germany at Aachen in 1054) aged six, to Bertha, daughter of the powerful Margrave of Susa, whose territory lay at

[1] In 1053 Henry deposed the rebel duke and gave the duchy to his own baby son aged three.

[2] In his last year Henry actually offered to meet this French king in single combat, but the Frenchman, who had recently had an interview with him at Ivois, did not relish the prospect of fighting such a tall strong man as the emperor.

[3] It is not quite certain whether Matilda as well as her mother was taken north at this time, nor is the date of Beatrix's release certain, *vide infra*, p. 71.

the foot of the Alps. The conspiracy, of which the moving spirits were Welf of Carinthia, and Henry's own uncle the Bishop of Regensburg, was betrayed to Henry; and once more, most foolishly, he pardoned all the rebels, and did not even confiscate their lands. Pope Victor visited Henry at Goslar in 1056, and their meeting was saddened by the news of a bad defeat of the royal troops by some heathen Letts on the Havel. Henry was already very ill when this news came, and he died at the early age of thirty-nine, confiding his boy to Victor's care, in October 1056. What plans, if any, he made for a regency we do not know. But the outlook was by no means a brilliant one for the Reich; obviously there was profound discontent among the lay nobles when Henry died. If that discontent should find support in a Papacy striving to throw off its dependence on the Imperial crown, chaos would come again.

ARGUMENT OF CHAPTER III

The most critical period in history since the fall of the Roman Empire; the State is definitely committed to a struggle with the Church. The Church, under the influence of Hildebrand, goes beyond the spirit of reform represented by Cluny, and seeks to grasp at universal temporal dominion, based on its universal spiritual dominion. In Germany and Italy this is very largely successful. Alliance of the Papacy with the anarchic-feudal elements of German society, with the House of Lorraine-Tuscany, with the Normans in Southern Italy; the struggle of HENRY IV., during nine years of minority and forty-one years of reign, against the Papacy. Gradual dissolution of the union between the old German and the old Lombard churches. Results in Germany (i.) the check administered to her eastward and northward expansion; the Slavs destroy the foundations of Adalbert of Bremen; (ii.) the weakening of the power of the great archbishops, who hesitate between allegiance to Crown and to Pope; (iii.) the increase of the power of the great dukes; rise of the family of Welf with a tradition of opposition to the Salian House and to its heirs, the Hohenstaufen; (iv.) the maintenance of the independence of Saxony almost as a separate nation; (v.) frightful civil war. Results in Italy (i.) the rise of the spirit of democracy in the cities, in alliance with the Papacy; (ii.) the levelling of the old privileges of such churches as Milan and Ravenna before the universal dominion of Rome; (iii.) the formation of the strong power of the Normans in Southern Italy and Sicily; (iv.) yet, in spite of the donation or bequest by the great Countess Matilda of all her lands in the north and northern centre of Italy to the Papacy, no great increase of temporal dominion to the Pope, who is oftener than not in feud with the citizens of Rome and is quite commonly in exile. But so strong are the foundations laid by GREGORY VII. that all Western Europe, except Germany, is ready to receive an exiled pope, and URBAN II. turns this spirit to account and inaugurates the First Crusade in 1095. At the end of the century Germany, half ruined by civil war, is left in a backwater, and HENRY V.

early in the twelfth century rebels against his father and deposes him. He has considerable success against the popes, and a peace is at last patched up between him and CALIXTUS II. by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. But it is a peace only upon one point, and a renewal of the contest between Emperor and Pope is inevitable in the near future. In Germany Henry V. is less successful in quelling anarchy; in fact there is civil war during most of his reign. But before his death the colonisation of the North and East has begun again, and the war against *consuetus hostis*, the Slav. The new monastic foundations of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians are valuable agents in this colonisation. In Italy Henry, by open-handed concessions to some cities and by terrorism to many other elements of Italian life, wins back a fair amount of recognition, if not of power; he manages to annex the lands of Matilda, but the popes get a brief hold of them after his death. With Henry V. ends the Salian dynasty in the direct line; the crown ought to have passed to his Hohenstaufen nephew, but the Church and the princes, both being afraid of strong government, defeat his intentions and elect LOTHAIR II. of Saxony.

For Genealogical Tables of the rulers in Germany, Italy, Flanders, Lorraine, and Sicily, see Tables to Chapter II.

TABLE I.—CONTEMPORARY POPES, 1056-1125.

Victor II. (last of the German popes appointed by Henry III.)		1055 to 1057
Stephen IX. (Frederick of Lorraine, brother of Duke Godfrey)		1057 „ 1058
Benedict X. (a belated Tusculan Pope, soon driven out)		1058 „ 1059
Nicholas II. (first of Hildebrand's popes)		1059 „ 1061
Alexander II. (blessed the Norman Conquest)	[Anti-pope Honorius II. (Cadalus of Parma), 1062-1072]	1061 „ 1073
GREGORY VII. (Hildebrand)		1073 „ 1085
Victor III. (stopgap; had been Abbot of Monte-Cassino)	[Anti-pope Clement III. (Wibert of Ravenna), 1080-1100]	1086 „ 1087
URBAN II. (of the First Crusade)		1088 „ 1099
Paschal II. (who ate his own words of 1111 in 1112)		1099 „ 1118
Gelasius II.	[Anti-pope Burdinus, 1118-1121]	1118 „ 1119
CALIXTUS II. (of the Concordat of Worms)		1119 „ 1124
Honorius II.		1124 „ 1130

TABLE II.—CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE, 1056-1125.

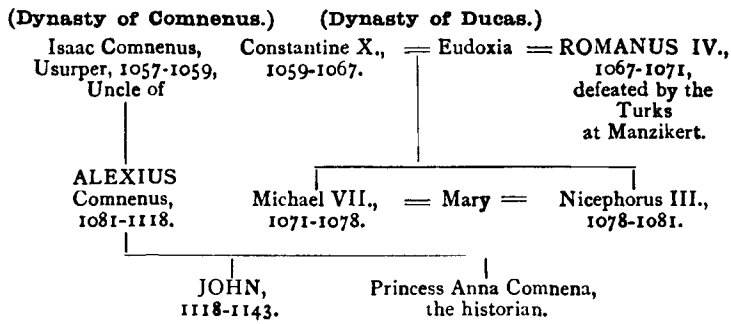
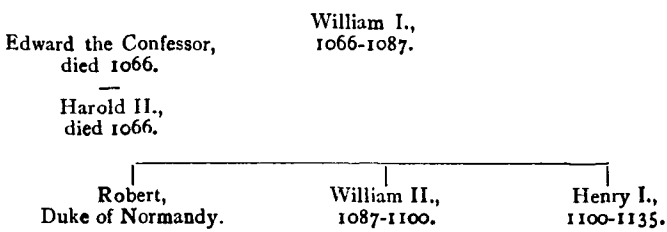


TABLE III.—CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS IN ENGLAND, 1056-1125.



CHAPTER III

THE CONTEST OF INVESTITURES, 1056-1125

THE period that opens with the accession of Henry IV. is the most momentous in history since the fall of Rome, for it sees the powers of Church and State committed to a definite struggle with each other, a struggle that was to be fought out in all countries that were Children of the Roman Empire, and even in some that were not. In France, in England, and to some extent in Spain, the State came victorious out of that struggle, in Germany and Italy it was defeated. The result was that France, England, and Spain became national states, while Germany and Italy remained, almost to our own days, mere nationalities or 'geographical expressions.' At the opening of that struggle history is filled with the name of Hildebrand, and for centuries after his death his shadow is cast across its pages; as the Germans in 1870 were 'still making war on Louis XIV.,' so it may be said that all good kings and governments have been making war on Hildebrand ever since the eleventh century. What manner of man he was, is not easy to discover; even his personal and private character is by no means clear to us. It is easy to say that his *intransigeance* would have wrecked any other cause, that if he had failed he would have been considered merely a violent self-centred fanatic, a sort of vulgar Italian Becket. But that view, I think, cannot be accepted; to Hildebrand's courage as much praise must be awarded as to Becket's, to his patience and to his immense diplomatic skill, infinitely more praise than Becket could ever claim. To deliver the clergy from all control by the State, then to

exalt them to power above all states, and finally to exalt the see of Rome above all other clergy was a magnificent, nay a noble set of ideals, if a wholly mistaken and inhuman one. For such ends Hildebrand needed not to be troubled with scruples about the means, and he was not.

In considering the period one is of course dreadfully handicapped by the fact that history in the Middle Ages was written wholly by churchmen, few of whom after the immediate victory of the Church would have either inclination or courage to be fair towards its lay antagonists. The monastic libraries of Germany and Italy were no doubt carefully weeded of all trustworthy writings in favour of Hildebrand's great antagonist, Henry IV., and it is wonderful that even the anonymous *Vita Heinrici* should have survived. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the *Annals* of Lambert of Hersfeld[1] was the received authority, and his book, which was probably written in 1077-1078 (it ends with 1077), is a mere campaign of calumny against Henry. The Saxon monk Bruno of Merseburg (a Magdeburger by birth), in his *De Bello Saxonico Liber*, which goes down to 1081, is just

[1] Lambert was born 1028, was ordained 1058, went on a pilgrimage to Palestine, worshipped Archbishop Hanno of Cologne, and was probably a disappointed candidate for the post of abbot of his abbey. Hence may have arisen his hatred of Henry; the other monks of Hersfeld were devoted royalists, which perhaps increased Lambert's bitterness. It is now generally believed that it was from this same abbey of Hersfeld that one of the few books upon the other side, the *Liber de Unitate Ecclesiæ Conservanda*, emanated, which used to be ascribed to Bishop Walram of Naumburg. This is a monument of tangled learning (and of appalling dullness) written between 1084 and 1090, and its text is to deny the right of the Church to exercise any temporal power. About 1850 the labours of German historians lead to the questioning of some of Lambert's statements, and in 1855 Ranke first made it clear that no unsupported statement of his could be received. In 1873 Delbrück collected a list of thirty-four capital misstatements in the *Annals*, and it is now hardly possible to regard the author merely as a picturesque or 'natural' liar; rather he was an intentional poison-spitter, who garbled even the letters of Pope Gregory himself. Giesebrecht, though he can refute Lambert in details, is still too much influenced by him.

as bitter an enemy of Henry, but a far more honest one, and he indeed might plead patriotic Saxon reasons for his hostility.[1] The collection of Hildebrand's own letters, known as the *Registrum Gregorii*[2] and made in 1081, with additions to 1084, though of course equally hostile to Henry, frequently fails to corroborate Lambert's details. On the other side we have only one serious contemporary witness whose writings carry weight and produce conviction, the anonymous *Historia de Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris*,[3] which Casaubon thought worthy to be ranked with the *Agricola* of Tacitus; some have thought that it emanated from Henry's friend, Bishop Otbert of Liège, others would place the authorship at Mainz or Würzburg; the latest German opinion is in favour of Würzburg. Not much serious weight can be attached, on the one hand, to the writings of Bishop Benzo of Alba, nor to those of the schismatic Cardinal Beno, nor to the attempts of Wido, Bishop of Ferrara, and the Ravenna Jurist, Peter Crassus, to find, in scraps culled from Roman Law, a legal basis for the Imperial claims; nor, on the other side, to the laborious massings, in favour of the Pope, of citations from canons and decretals, by Bishop Anselm of Lucca and Cardinal Deusdedit. After Lambert, the most lively and least trustworthy Papalist is Bishop Bonitho of Sutri, in his *Liber ad Amicum*, printed at the end of Jaffé's *Monumenta*.

[1] Brunonis, *De Bello Saxonico Liber*, ed. Pertz, re-ed. Wattenbach, Hanover, 1880 (*Scriptores in usum Scholarum*).

[2] In *Monumenta Gregoriana*, ed. Jaffé, Berlin, 1865. The latest opinion is that the collection is both complete and consecutive; Jaffé and Giesebrecht believed, on what certainly seems to be good evidence, that it was a selection only, and one prepared by the Pope himself.

[3] Edited by Wattenbach, re-edited by Eberhard, Hanover, 1899, in *Scriptores in usum Scholarum*. For Giesebrecht's estimate of it, see iii., 1051-1052. It is a surprising illustration of the partisan spirit in which history is still taught that when in 1913, among the 'special subjects to be studied in the original authorities' in the Oxford School of Modern History, that of 'Hildebrand' was for the first time introduced, the *Vita* was not one of the prescribed authorities. The *Liber de Unitate Ecclesiæ Conservanda* was and is prescribed; but

The 'Cæsar of Papal Rome,' as Gregovorius[1] calls Hildebrand, was about thirty-seven years old at the death of the Emperor Henry III.; he was the son of a Tuscan joiner, perhaps of Lombard race. He had begun life in a Benedictine monastery at Rome, and had, as we have seen, accompanied the deposed Gregory VI. to Germany. It has been stated by his eulogist Bonitho[2] that he had, on Gregory's death, gone into the cloister at Cluny; but this statement is unsupported by other evidence. Certainly he had accompanied Leo IX. to Rome. Besides learning to know his Germany he had learned to measure his Cluny, and perceived how far a more energetic will than its own might drive the Cluniac spirit. It is quite evident that he drove it to heights to which Cluny's own saintly abbots would never have ventured to press.[3] The true voice of the older reformers, as represented by St Peter Damiani (who died in 1072, before Hildebrand became Pope or had disclosed his full designs), would probably have agreed that the Church and the see of Rome could lawfully establish their theocracy only by a voluntary surrender of all their vast wealth. Herein lay the most vulnerable joint in the Hildebrandine armour; in the

an intelligent student, if offered his choice between reading this work and penal servitude, would probably choose the latter. The reason for the strange selection seems to be that the Mediæval Church is believed to have been the champion of democracy, and 'our young persons should be educated in sound democratic principles.' One supposes that it was for a similar reason that, when the 'French Revolution' was one of these special subjects, neither the *Mémoires* of Malouet nor any of the writings of Mallet du Pan, except a few scraps from his newspaper in a selection of extracts, were prescribed, and on the Royalist side only the very worst conceivable writer was prescribed.

[1] *Rome in the Middle Ages*, Mrs Hamilton's translation, iv., 167.

[2] *Bonithonis Episcopi Sutrini, Liber ad Amicum*, in *Monumenta Gregoriana*, ed. Jaffé, pp. 630, 631.

[3] A curious, but not wholly fanciful, parallel might be drawn, in which the earlier and purely spiritual Cluniacs would stand for the early Tractarians in England, and the Hildebrandines for the high-church and socialist ecclesiastics of our own day; nor would it be difficult, among these would-be religious tyrants of modern England, to discover a Hildebrand.

claim that the clergy should keep and increase their lands and *yet* be independent of, and above, the State; in the claim, in short, to temporal as well as spiritual supremacy. It was this which made the decree against lay investiture so much more unreasonable than that against clerical marriage, and so much worse received.

But henceforth we need think little more of old Cluny as a spirit; when we next meet its abbots we shall find them so sadly behind the times as to be acting as mediators, or even supporting a lay power against a clerical one. 'New Cluny' has become Rome and Hildebrandine Rome, and needs reforming emperors no longer; this new Cluny-Rome has a usefully pious France to fall back upon if the nationalist spirit, lay or clerical (and often both), of Germany should strive at all successfully against her; but Rome will find in time that French support will have to be purchased by such concessions to French nationalism as will put an end to all theocratic aims in that quarter. Another alliance Rome is about to grasp, of far greater immediate moment to herself, that of the Normans both in England and in Southern Italy.[1] Was it mere luck or immense foresight that prompted Hildebrand to seek this alliance? Yet there, too, the concessions with which Rome had to purchase support against Germany were almost ludicrous. No more secular state ever existed than the Norman kingdom of Sicily in the twelfth century, and yet a pope voluntarily made its king 'perpetual papal legate' in his own dominions. We shall have to contrast this with the treatment meted out to successive sovereigns of Germany.

How narrow was the sphere within which the revived Papacy could at first act! The states of the several 'Dona-

[1] M. Chalandon, in his *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et Sicile*, 2 vols., Paris, 1907, is always warning us against antedating this alliance. Victor II. and Stephen IX. looked for help far more to the House of Lorraine than to the 'brigands' in Apulia and Campania. And even in 1059 it was not so much against Germany as against the Roman nobles, the dregs of the Tusculan party, that Hildebrand first definitely sought Norman aid.

tions,' if they had ever existed as facts,[1] had long ago been eaten up by the greedy 'barons' of the Campagna and Central Italy; the Normans, not yet papal champions and by no means yet united in themselves, were clawing vigorously at the southern frontier, and had officially to be reckoned as vassals of the Empire. Two great bundles of property, which got the name of Margraviates, had grown up rather than been created, one in the Alps and Piedmont, the other in Tuscany. It was difficult to say what in them was held alodially, what as fief of the Empire. Both Conrad and Henry III. had looked on far too carelessly at their growth, and the twenty years of coming anarchy were to strengthen them enormously. At this date the one was ruled by Henry IV.'s mother-in-law, Adelaide, with a capital at Susa at the foot of the Mont Cenis, the other by Beatrice of Tuscany (or rather by her new husband, Godfrey of Lorraine) for her little daughter Matilda. Both ladies were to be champions of the Papacy, and Beatrice and Matilda to be bitter foes of the Empire. Yet a change in the person of the ruler of either of these territories might have very serious consequences for the papal cause. Even in Rome the prefects, militia, and judges were supposed to be independent of the Pope. The Tusculan family was all alive too, and did actually once more 'intrude' a Benedict X., who had to be driven out by the help of Godfrey of Lorraine; what if this party should make common cause with the German-Imperial power? In fact something of this kind was to happen frequently, and, the more 'Hildebrandine' the Pope during the next two centuries, the longer the period he would usually have to spend as an exile from the city of Rome.

But we must come to details. Pope Victor II., after procuring from the widowed Empress Agnes the release of the two Tuscan ladies,[2] the Marchioness Beatrice and her

[1] It is quite possible that about this time interpolations were made in the original charters of donation of the Caroling and Saxon emperors—of course in favour of the papal *dominium* in Italy.

[2] Perhaps, indeed, Henry III. had released them before his death.

daughter Matilda (which involved a complete reconciliation of Agnes with Godfrey of Lorraine-Tuscany), made Godfrey's brother Frederick a cardinal and died in 1057. He was succeeded by this very man, Godfrey's brother Frederick, already Abbot of Monte-Cassino, as Stephen IX. The utter weakness of the German government was shown by its want of interference, or even protest, at such an election. The gainer by the whole transaction was obviously Godfrey, who was not only restored to Upper, but promised the reversion of Lower Lorraine as well. He returned to Italy in triumph, no longer merely a successful rebel, but able to pose as the representative of the Imperial Court. Stephen allowed Godfrey to occupy Camerino and the Duchy of Spoleto; probably he intended to create him emperor. Stephen was a high-churchman of the aristocratic type, and it is possible that Hildebrand, who was still comparatively in the background, did not wholly approve of his election. But Hildebrand went to Germany to get that election officially confirmed, and Stephen died during his absence. The story that the dying man, whose end the Tusculan family had perhaps hastened by its familiar means, bade the Roman clergy await Hildebrand's return before electing his successor, is probably false. But Stephen's death gave the last Tusculan candidate, Benedict X.,[1] his little day of power, and it was not until he was driven out by the end of the year that, by Godfrey's help and that of Peter Damiani (whom Stephen had made Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, much against his own will), a thoroughly Hildebrandine Pope was chosen, the Bishop of Florence, as Nicholas II. With him the real period of reform and defiance to the Empire began. Hildebrand himself now stepped forward as archdeacon of Rome and controller of the finances of the Roman See.

The first employment he made of these was to hire from Richard of Aversa,[2] and from Robert Guiscard,

[1] He is not reckoned an 'antipope'; he had been one of Leo IX.'s cardinals and was Bishop of Velletri.

[2] Aversa, as we know (*vide supra*, pp. 46, 56), had already been granted to Ranulf as a fief of Salerno, both by Conrad and by Henry

who had already conquered much of Apulia and Calabria, three hundred Norman knights for defence of the Pope; and the Pope in return proceeded to invest Richard with Capua, and Robert with the Duchy of Apulia as papal fiefs; this was, of course, sheer contempt of the Empire, and was grounded on the 'Donation of Constantine,' here for the first time openly used as if it were a legal instrument. The grant also included the Island of Sicily 'when Robert should have conquered it from the Moslem,' which Robert's brother Roger was now beginning to do. Robert had taken Brindisi, Otranto, and Reggio before the end of 1060, but the Greeks recovered them in the next year. It was not till 1071 that the Normans completely mastered all the coast fortresses, and from the strongest of all, Bari, Robert was obliged to be content with a tribute and the right of leaving a small Norman garrison in its fortress. The Sicilian conquests of Roger occupied the same decade, and practically ended with the fall of Palermo in 1072. They were a more thorough conquest than that of the mainland; no big feudal lordships were established in the island comparable to those left on the mainland, and so Sicilian rebellions, though occasional during the next century and a half, were more easily subdued than those in Apulia.

Thus was Italy, as in the days of Stephen II., once more *morcellée* to serve not Italian but papal interests. It says much for Hildebrand's skill that Godfrey was got, if not thoroughly to agree to, at least to take no active steps against, his Norman policy, and that Rome was thus secured by arms both on the north and the south. Godfrey was in fact prepared to become the vassal of the Pope for Tuscany upon terms similar to those of the Normans of Apulia.

Perhaps more daring still was the election-law laid down at the Lateran Synod of 1059. The choice of the Bishop of Rome was henceforth vested in the 'College of Cardinals' who are (i.), the seven cardinal bishops of

III.; it is probable, though not certain, that Richard now took it as a papal fief.

the dioceses immediately around Rome; (ii.) the twenty-eight cardinal priests of the four greatest churches in Rome[1]; (iii.) two cardinal abbots and twelve cardinal deacons. When these have voted, the rest of the 'clergy and people' of Rome are to ratify their choice, and a faint reservation of a still later consent of young Henry (not of the King of Germany or of the Emperor as such) is made.[2] The choice is to fall on a Roman cleric unless (vague words!) 'no Roman can be found fit'; and the election is valid even if it has to be held elsewhere than in Rome. Not a single German bishop was present at this synod[3] which thus gave the law to Christendom, and a German synod in the next year not unnaturally protested against it. Not only worldly German bishops were frightened; Cluny and Peter Damiani were frightened too. For such fears and protests Hildebrand cared just nothing at all.

Nicholas II. died in 1061 and then, if not before, the German court and bishops ought to have struck. But during the last five years things had not been going well in Germany. Agnes, though the author of the *Vita* calls her 'a woman of masculine mind,' was at heart too deeply under Cluniac influences, too hopelessly out of touch with German nationalism, to act for Germany or the Empire. One fears indeed that she was even ready to favour the dangerous lay princes as a counterpoise to the anti-Cluniac bishops. Thus, though she betrothed her little daughter Judith to Solomon, son of King Andrew of Hungary, in 1058, she did nothing to prevent a national and anti-German reaction in that country, which killed King Andrew, and drove Solomon

[1] St Peter, St Paul-without-the-Walls, St Mary the Great, St Laurence.

[2] The words were 'salvo debito honore et reverentia filii nostri Henrici,' but were explained to be only a personal concession to Henry himself.

[3] There were, according to Pope Nicholas himself (see Giesebrecht's note, iii., 1085), one hundred and thirteen bishops present, but there are only seventy-eight signatories to the decree, all Italians except the Archbishop of Besançon.

to take refuge in Germany. Thus, she gave away Bavaria from the Salian Dynasty to an ambitious Saxon Count, Otto of Nordheim, the nearest western neighbour of the new imperial palace at Goslar. Thus, too, she allowed Rudolf of Rheinfelden, a creature of the same dynasty, to extort from her the Duchy of Swabia, the hand of her daughter Agnes, and the regency of Burgundy; thus she compensated Berthold of Zähringen (who had been promised Swabia) with Carinthia and Verona. Far worse was to come; but for the moment the worst was that she made no attempt to utilise the opportunity when, on the death of Pope Nicholas, the anti-Hildebrandine party in Rome and Lombardy raised its head, sent to young Henry the title of *patricius* (and we remember when and why that title was last given),[1] and called aloud for German help. The strings were no doubt pulled by Guy, Archbishop of Milan, who, as we shall soon see, had his own reasons for disliking Hildebrand; by Wibert, soon to be Archbishop of Ravenna, an old statesman of Henry III.'s, and by Cencius the prefect of Rome. It is interesting to see that the Greek emperor, by now the deadly enemy of Robert Guiscard and the Apulian Normans, was upon the same side.

Hildebrand had already, then, to make swift use of his clause about 'electing a pope outside Rome.' He got Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, the champion of the democratic *pataria*[2] at Milan, chosen at Florence as Alexander II., and got Norman swords from Richard of Capua to escort him back to Rome. The Lombard clergy thereupon, though without imperial support, acted for themselves, Wibert of Parma, afterwards Archbishop of Ravenna and antipope, at their head, and at a synod at Basel chose Cadalus, Bishop of Parma as Honorius II. It was a purely Lombard job and the German bishops did not approve

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 55.

[2] *Vide infra*, p. 85. This Anselm is not to be confused with the later Anselm, also Bishop of Lucca, Matilda's spiritual director, consecrated in 1073, the famous canonist. Both were of the same Lombard family of Baggio or Badagio.

of it; moreover, it cannot be denied that it was also an anti-Cluniac job. If Honorius had won, Church reform might have been indefinitely postponed. Yet for the interests of the Empire, and in the face of the almost open rebellion of the Hildebrandines, it was of the first importance for the German court to support this Lombard election. Tardily indeed Agnes decided to recognise Honorius; but it was too late, her government was just about to be upset at home, and Godfrey, who had ostentatiously posed as a mediator, suddenly came down on the Hildebrandine side of the fence. The German bishops, who certainly ought to have been, and probably were, by this time fully alarmed, made a very poor show. For the imperial right of nomination they would risk nothing at all; and so, at a synod at Augsburg, they declared themselves prepared to recognise Alexander; in the next year they tried to effect a compromise with him to the effect that, if he would not indict them as simoniacs, they actually would recognise him. Even so there was civil war in Rome, and Honorius at one time looked very like winning; once the two popes were in Rome at the same time, issuing their respective curses on each other from the Lateran and St Angelo. But the schism in Italy was closely connected with the *coup d'état* of 1062 in Germany, although it is difficult to decide which was cause and which was effect.

In Germany the reaction on Henry III.'s death had been really a triple one; against strong government, against quasi-Cluniac government, and against the preponderance of the bishops. As early as 1057 Lambert[1] says that the Saxon princes meant to snatch power from the boy Henry 'while his infancy gave them the power of injuring him.' We need pay no attention to his gossip of 1062 as to Agnes's private life; it is quite uncorroborated, and celibate monks have always had an old-maidish appetite for scandal. No doubt it suited Lambert's idol Hanno,[2] Archbishop of Cologne, that such should be

[1] *Opera*, p. 71.

[2] Hanno was a man of no particular birth, but extraordinarily

recorded and believed. The really interesting thing to know would be why Hanno, who at heart was no Hildebrandine, allowed himself to play the game of Hildebrand's ally Godfrey. Perhaps the best explanation of the matter is that the Hildebrandine, the national, and the feudal elements in German life momentarily coalesced against the empress, who wavered between them all, and that Hanno's ambition and position pointed him out as the fit agent in the job. Anyhow the young king, aged twelve, had been dining one day at St Swithbert's Isle (the later Kaiserswerth[1]) on the Rhine, and after dinner Hanno said to him 'Come and see my beautiful new boat'; when Henry was aboard the crew sprang to their oars and put out into mid-stream. Henry jumped overboard and tried to swim ashore, but was caught by a certain Count Egbert, and carried off from his weeping mother into Hanno's clutches. According to Lambert, the government that was then set up was a regency of successive bishops, 'the bishop in whose diocese the king is for the time residing to act as regent;' but no confirmation of the statement can be found, and, as a matter of fact, Hanno and his party seem to have acted, without any regular arrangement, as 'the government.' Hanno signalised his occupation of office by recognising Alexander II., and thus spoiling the imperialist cause in Italy. Siegfried of Mainz appeared at first as an ally of Hanno's, and to many other bishops the new government lavishly scattered royal lands in order to win support. Agnes wept as a mother, but consoled herself as a woman; she soon[2] retired into a nunnery, for the repose of which she had long been wishing.

One bishop alone was too powerful to be bribed, was

clever and a good practical administrator; he had been nominated to Cologne at the end of Henry III.'s reign. He was entirely lacking in character or principle, but managed by adroit trimming to continue to pull most of the strings of German politics almost till his death in 1075.

[1] Between Duisburg and Düsseldorf; the 'island' has now grown on to the right bank of the river.

[2] The date is not quite certain; see Giesebrecht's note, iii., 1097.

perhaps rich enough to bribe the others to admit him to a share of power; this was Adalbert of Bremen, whom we have already seen attempting to exalt his see above all other North German powers. The more Henry grew to hate Hanno the more he grew to love Adalbert, his father's old and tried friend.[1] In 1063 Adalbert persuaded the young king to go on his first warlike expedition to Hungary;[2] all 1064-1065 Adalbert was getting the better of Hanno, who went to Italy, to be reconciled to Alexander at the Synod of Mantua, 1064. It was Adalbert who had Henry knighted in 1065, and Godfrey, who in that year at last succeeded to the Duchy of Lower Lorraine, was not unfriendly to Adalbert's government. In one way, however, Adalbert's was an unfortunate alliance for the boy, for it led him into a premature pushing on of his father's schemes of centralised government at Goslar, and hence into a deadly hostility with the Saxon bishops and princes who were already raging against Adalbert. It is also impossible to acquit Adalbert of greed as, for instance, when he confiscated the great abbeys of Lorsch and Corvey[3] for the benefit of the see of Bremen; the abbots actually defended themselves with arms. All the other parties which were struggling for the upper hand in Germany coalesced in 1066 against Adalbert and compelled the boy king, at the Diet of Tribur, under threat of deposition, perhaps even of death, to banish his best friend; Henry was again almost a captive in the hands of the princes, and Rome seemed to be pleased at this. The leaders in the job were Hanno and Otto of Nordheim, the new Duke of Bavaria; the latter contrived for a time to make himself personally pleasing to Henry. But the

[1] Adam of Bremen, iii., 33: 'Their tongues (Hanno's and Adalbert's) spoke peace, but their hearts hated each other bitterly.' Adam does not spare Adalbert's great vices, his excessive fondness for flatterers, and his wild extravagance; in everything to do with his see he seems to have been a megalomaniac. After his troubles his deterioration of character became manifest (see especially iii., 61, 62).

[2] Solomon was crowned in Hungary and did homage to Henry.

[3] Adam of Bremen, iii., 27, describes the grants, but adds 'our Church afterwards repented of having received these gifts.'

result of the overthrow of Adalbert was not merely a free-Saxon, but also a heathen and Slavonic reaction, all to the prejudice of the national interests of Germany, even to the prejudice of Christendom, on the Baltic coasts. Every enemy, Christian and heathen, of the archbishop sprang upon Bremen at once, the Billung family of Saxony at their head, and Adalbert actually had to go into hiding to save his life. The next few years are dark, and the few events known are difficult to explain. But there is good evidence that from 1065-1070 Henry led a profligate life, and that he sought in 1069 to get a divorce from his wife Bertha, to whom he was married in 1064, for he looked upon the marriage as one forced on him by the princes. No one except Lambert[1] accuses him after that date of immorality during Bertha's life, and Bertha afterwards was a devoted wife and friend to her husband.

Twice in these years Henry declared his intention of going to Rome to take the Imperial Crown (1065 and 1067); but on the former occasion Adalbert's influence, on the latter the intrigues of Godfrey of Lorraine, prevented him from fulfilling it. No doubt, together with the crowning, Henry intended an attack on the Normans, which at the moment would not have been unpleasing to the Pope; Godfrey had to pretend that he would do this business instead of the king, but after putting an army afoot he immediately made peace with the Normans. It is to these years also that we must attribute the growth of the influence of the king's 'private councillors,' mostly Swabians, Franconians, and Bavarians, who were so hateful both to the Saxons and to the popes—men like Werner and Leopold of Merseburg.[2] These men

[1] *Opera*, p., 140. Henry only began to live with Bertha from his eighteenth or nineteenth year; their first child was not born till 1071. In 1069 he had actually won over Siegfried of Mainz to consent to further the divorce, but the aged Peter Damiani appeared as Alexander's legate in Germany and broke off all idea of such a thing. On the date of Bertha's marriage and coronation, see Giesebrecht's note, iii., 1106.

[2] Eberhard of Nellenburg, who is too often classed with these young

were hostile to great bishops and great lay princes alike, but in all probability they were just the descendants of Henry III.'s faithful 'ministeriales.' Such men were not necessarily models of virtue, kings' favourites seldom are; but Hanno was not the man to throw stones of morality at them. The *Vita* is also good evidence that Henry, when he grew up, was not the man to be led by the nose by favourites; 'he seldom spoke, he listened much'; 'when he did give a decision it was as swift as it was clear and just, drawn from the very treasure chest of wisdom herself;' 'he looked a greater man than all his princes, terrible when he wanted to be so, gentle and placid among his servants and friends.' This is from a passionate friend and admirer, but even Lambert[1] speaks of Henry's great intellectual power beyond his years, and Bruno tells of his royal courage in adversity, and how he would rather die than be beaten. Ekkehard,[2] another hostile witness of his later years, speaks of his love for the clergy and for learned people, for reading and for liberal studies, also of his royal courage and intelligence, of his great stature and elegance of body.

councillors, was an old tried servant of Henry III., and seems to have been a really wise adviser to the young king. As for Leopold of Merseburg, he indeed came to a strange and terrible end in 1071, for, falling from his horse, he was transfixed with his own sword. Now it is to be noted that this sword had not only belonged to Attila, King of the Huns, in the fifth century, but also to the God Mars some centuries before even Attila; it had been found by a herdsman hidden in the earth. Lambert (p. 130) admits that he tells this story *per excessum.*

[1] Annals, *anno* 1075.

[2] The Abbot Ekkehard of Aura, a Benedictine house near Kissingen, began the 'Universal Chronicle,' from the Creation till 1125, which was continued by Burchard of Ursperg to 1226, and is sometimes therefore known as *Chronicon Urspergense.* Ekkehard's part is the leading authority for the reign of Henry V. See *Ekkehardus, Uraugiensis Abbas, Chronicon Universale, sub anno* 1106 (in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. cliv.). For the value of Ekkehard's evidence, see the very important note in Giesebrecht (iii., 1041-1042), who considers that it is seriously discounted by the several revisions of his chronicle which Ekkehard made to suit either the changes in public opinion or his own changes of attitude.

All this is quite compatible with a fixed determination to make himself absolute, if one wishes to use so strong a word; at the lowest, a determination not only to avenge the insults heaped on him in boyhood, but to tread down, if possible for good, the independence both of lay princes and bishops. Certainly Henry wished to reclaim for the crown all the property and all the prerogative which it had possessed at the end of Conrad's reign, and he may very well have considered that far too much influence had been allowed to the bishops in the days of his mighty father. If he began with Saxony, it was because his father had already begun to begin there, and because Saxony was almost in rebellion before he attained his majority. And if he failed, not only in Saxony but in Germany as a whole, although we cannot feel sure that even with papal support he could have succeeded, the fact that he incurred the totally unmerited and unexpected fury of Hildebrand was largely to blame for his failure. Perhaps Henry ought to have foreseen a Hildebrand somewhere across the Alps; but the close alliance of this Hildebrand with German anarchy no one could be expected to foresee. It is satisfactory that Hanno at least got little good for himself out of his treacherous behaviour; for when Hildebrand, by the mouth of Pope Alexander, began the great crusade against lay investiture, Siegfried and Hanno were among the very first of the German bishops to be summoned to Rome and made to do penance for the sin of simony (1070).

The steps in the direction of 'absolutism' are not very easy to trace, and mainly resolve themselves into the confiscation of the lands of three great princes, the Margrave of Thuringia, Otto of Nordheim the new Duke of Bavaria, and Magnus Billung of Saxony.[1] All were probably part of the necessary reply to the rebellion that was being brewed in Saxony, beginning against Adalbert of Bremen, but by 1069-1070 going on to attack the crown also. The building of fortresses in the Harz Mountains,

[1] The son of Ordulf Billung who died in this year, 1072; Henry had not confirmed the title of Magnus to his father's lands.

which had been begun by Henry III. was now vigorously pushed on, and the Swabian garrisons placed in them provoked bitter complaints from the Saxons; it is quite possible that both Adalbert and Henry bidded for Danish help. It was then that Henry gave the Duchy of Bavaria to Welf IV. (of the Este family by his father's side, of the Welfs by his mother), in the hopes of converting a potential enemy into a friend; but he only succeeded in rousing the able and unscrupulous Otto of Nordheim, whom he had deprived of it, to a life-long hostility. Otto was the soul of all the Saxon revolts, and one of the most daring and gallant rebels in German history; it was he who succeeded in re-creating a sturdy infantry out of the Saxon peasants, and making them combine with his knights.

The death of Adalbert[1] in 1072, after a return to court in 1070 and a partial return to influence, removed one of the most devoted, if not the wisest of Henry's friends; but the death of Godfrey of Lorraine[2] at the end of 1069 had removed the most dangerous of his foes; the new Duke of Lower Lorraine, Godfrey the Hunchback, proved a devoted loyalist, and a man of great ability; Lambert[3] calls him the hinge on which the whole business of Germany turned. He was already married (the date is uncertain) to his father's step-daughter Matilda of Tuscany, and Henry at once invested him with the fief of Tuscany. In his Italian lands the younger Godfrey never took any interest at all, and probably his masterful wife would not have allowed him to take any. Unfortunately after Adalbert's death Hanno regained influence at Court, and so did the traitor

[1] The last news Adalbert heard was that the Obotrites and Wends had laid Hamburg in ashes, and overrun all the lands of the see of Bremen.

[2] Godfrey had not been altogether *persona grata* at Rome. Since he had failed to crush the Normans in 1067, Hildebrand was beginning to suspect him of aiming at something more than patronage, and so his death was by no means unwelcome. Godfrey by his first wife left also a daughter Ida, married to Count Eustace of Boulogne, the mother of the famous crusader Godfrey 'of Bouillon.'

[3] *Opera*, p. 235.

Otto of Nordheim. The actual outbreak of the Saxon war was caused in 1073 by a summons of Henry's to the Saxons for a campaign against Poland; they refused to come,[1] and Otto of Nordheim appeared at their head. Henry was surprised, had to fly from Harzburg Castle, had to promise to destroy his new fortifications, to renounce his national duty of crushing the Poles, and to restore the Billungs in Saxony. In this rebellion not only the South German dukes, but the great bishops, who had been the best supporters of Henry III., to whom indeed Henry III. had been much too lavish of gifts, played a very mean part. They were already in trouble with Pope Alexander (being summoned to Rome and made to do penance for simony, and the like), and may have foreseen the coming strife between Empire and Papacy. Also they may have feared that a victory of Henry in Saxony would lead him to take vengeance on them for their treatment of him in boyhood.

Whether there was in 1073 an actual conspiracy to depose Henry is uncertain; the statement that there was is only made by Lambert, but it is quite possible that Otto had something of the kind afoot. Henry can hardly have been ill-pleased when he saw the bullies of his own youth being bullied by Hildebrand. All through 1074, Henry, who had fallen back upon Franconia and the Rhine, appears to have been negotiating with the Saxons, yet at the same time gathering forces, although an aurora borealis frightened everyone, and the rivers froze solid; and at the end of that year he had got together a powerful army, with which he and Godfrey thoroughly smashed the Saxons on the river Unstrut in 1075.[2] He then deprived of their

[1] As a result of this refusal, Boleslav of Poland entered on a victorious career all over the Slavonic frontier of the Reich; he even overran Western Hungary, and got himself crowned there with St Stephen's crown in 1076. Only the stout Bohemian duke kept resistance alive to him till 1079, when Boleslav died and his empire crumbled to bits.

[2] Unfortunately most of the Saxon knights got away; it was their peasants who were slaughtered in heaps. Henry's loyalists had been very hard hit too.

lands most of the leaders of the revolt, both lay and clerical; only the treacherous Otto was pardoned, restored, and favoured. Henry rebuilt his Saxon forts, got his son Conrad chosen heir at Goslar, and all seemed well. It was in these years 1073-1075 that Henry began to find his true supporters among the citizens, merchants, and peasants of the Rhine-land, and to show himself, what both his enemies and his panegyrist call him, the 'poor man's friend.'[1] That this attitude provoked great bitterness among the lay princes is certain; in the long civil wars of the rest of the reign, Henry's peasant friends were treated with the most frightful cruelty by the nobles, and, except in battle, Henry did not exercise any reprisals. In the Rhenish cities the royalist movement took the form of fierce attacks on the greedy bishops of the days of Henry's minority; Worms drove out its bishop, Trier actually killed its archbishop, a creature of Hanno's. In Cologne there was in 1074 a fearful outbreak against Hanno himself: the Devil was seen[2] in shining armour taking part in the fray. Hanno's knights took a cruel vengeance, which Henry was not able to avert, and the city was reduced 'almost to solitude.'[3] But it was Worms that declared most energetically of all for the Crown; it was at Worms that the royalists gathered for their final victory over the Saxons. There was, however, one disquieting feature in the situation; the three great dukes of Southern Germany, Rudolf of Swabia, Berthold of Carinthia, and Welf of Bavaria (now the friend of Otto of Nordheim) refused to follow up the remains of the beaten Saxons, and demanded the liberation of the Saxon nobles and bishops whom Henry had imprisoned. Whether this was merely the natural feudal kick against strong government, or whether their strings were already being pulled from Rome, is difficult to say.

But that by 1075 Rome was waiting for its prey,

[1] 'Lazarus did not lie before his door, but at his table,' etc. (*Vita*, cap. 1).

[2] Lambert, *Opera*, p. 188.

[3] Hanno died at the end of 1075; he was actually canonised by Lucius III. in 1183!

waiting, also, for that prey to 'put itself in the wrong,' is quite evident. Hildebrand had had one or two little matters to clear out of the way first. His party had got to complete its triumph in Lombardy before it could triumph in Germany. So far as the antipope Honorius was concerned, it triumphed when he died early in 1072, but he had not been a very serious trouble since 1066, and in Alexander's last year Hildebrand actually allowed Honorius's first patron, Wibert, to be consecrated to Ravenna. But the antipope's death meant the fall of an influence which would have been bound in any event to support the imperial cause in North Italy. As for Tuscany, the Bishop of Florence, appointed by the imperial regency with the consent of the elder Godfrey in 1063, was kept out of his office for five years by a monastic-popular insurrection; this ended in a complete triumph for Hildebrand, when the monk Peter of the Fire (San Pietro Igneo) offered to walk through the flames in order to prove the bishop a schismatic, and did it (1068). In Milan the victory was less easily won, and less complete. Archbishop Herbert, who had withstood the sieges of Conrad II., had been the beginner of the alliance between the Church and the democratic tendencies of the rising Italian cities; he had invented the *carroccio*, or sacred waggon carrying the crucifix and town-standards into battle; perhaps he had also invented the town-bell which called the city populace to arms; but in his old age he had become afraid of the spirit he himself had fostered, and looked on rather impotently (he died in 1045) at the beginning of a civil war between the greater nobles and the *plebs*, the democratic 'Patarines'[1] as they were called.

[1] The name, which, as we saw in the introductory chapter, was also given to the forerunners of the Albigensian heretics, seems to be derived from *pataria*, the rag-and-bone market in the city of Milan. It would be a mistake to see in this early *pataria* the germ of the future Commune of Milan; there were patarine elements in that commune, but the essence of the commune consisted in those middle and upper classes of the citizens to which, at the date of Alexander II.'s pontificate, the *pataria* was most hostile.

Not in Milan alone but in several other Lombard cities also, the Patarines rose, with the favour of the papal party, against bishops, knights, merchants, and the well-to-do classes generally, and, but for the bitter mutual hostility of the cities, the papal-democratic party might have triumphed in Lombardy sooner than it did. Now the bishops, nobles, and knights had been, in Herbert's time, the best supporters of the independence of Milan against Rome, of the church of Saint Ambrose, with its separate ritual and its proud and ancient traditions, against the levelling tendencies of St Peter. To Hildebrand such independence was an unspeakable heresy, and it was Hildebrand who, on the death of Henry III., had grasped the idea of an alliance between St Peter and the Patarines, between fierce and ignorant monasticism, and fierce and ignorant democracy. The thing was not new in the history of the world; Cyril of Alexandria had known it well in the fifth century, and had used it to terrorise both imperialism and culture. In a slightly different shape it is still with us to-day, and finds its champions among our celibate priests and our barren women.

He that was now Pope Alexander II. had, as Bishop of Lucca (1056-1061), led the Patarine party against Archbishop Guy of Milan, Herbert's successor (1045-1070); he had made a fanatic monk-knight, Erlembald, gonfalonier (*i.e.*, standard-bearer) of the Church, with a blessed banner like the one he sent to our William the Conqueror. The result was that Guy's successor, Godfrey, the nominee of the imperial government, could not get himself consecrated, and a Hildebrandine Patarine called Azzo was put up against him. It was in this matter that the Papacy first met with any real opposition from Henry himself, though such opposition was at first only tentative, and was dependent upon the course of events in Germany, notably of the Saxon revolt. Erlembald governed Milan with a council of thirty fanatics in the most tyrannical fashion until, a few months before Henry's victory over the Saxons,[1]

[1] Erlembald was killed in May; the Saxons were defeated in November.

all sober citizens rose against him and slew him (1075). The result was a real gain for the imperial cause; St Ambrose had triumphed over St Peter, and all respectable citizens of Milan shouted for joy. Wibert of Ravenna dropped his reconciliatory attitude, and began to re-create the schismatic party of 1062. But the anarchy in Milan had lasted off and on for nineteen years, and the waves of such a storm do not easily subside. No doubt, taken in connection with his Saxon victory, these events gave Henry courage to throw down the gauntlet; and as Archbishop Godfrey had proved but a weak supporter of his own cause, he nominated in this year, at the request of the Milanese nobles, a new man, Tedaldo, to the Archbishopric of Milan. Gregory utterly forbade Tedaldo's consecration, and that on the very ground of lay investiture. The battle was in fact already joined.

There were other possible allies for the imperial cause further south, for there had been trouble in Rome from the anti-papal faction throughout Alexander's tenure of the see, and there was now a contest between two persons calling themselves prefects; moreover the Normans had not always been as submissive as they ought to have been,[1] and had not always got on with Hildebrand's other protector, Duke Godfrey. But on Godfrey's death in 1069, a more whole-hearted champion than he came forward in the person of his stepdaughter Matilda, sole and undoubted heiress of the vast lands of the house of Tuscany, both alodial and feudal. She was a tall, dark virago, and had borne arms in person when a Norman army threatened Rome in 1067. She had recently been married, as we have just seen, to her step-father's son, Godfrey the Hunchback, but from 1073 had refused to live with him or to recognise any marital rights in him. All kinds of scandalous and most improbable tales were told about an illicit connection

[1] In 1071 all the Norman leaders were present when Alexander II. dedicated the magnificent new church at Monte-Cassino; but Hildebrand evidently thought that they were not fulfilling their bargain of 1059, and very nearly spoilt his own cause, for some years to come, by setting Richard of Capua at variance with Robert Guiscard.

between her and Hildebrand; it seems more likely that Matilda is a study in unsexed womanhood, devoted to a single idea and following it up with high courage and great skill. Her whole narrow passionate devotion was given to Hildebrand and his cause.[1]

Thus, when Alexander II. died on 21st April 1073, Erlembald in the north of Italy, Matilda in the centre, and at least some of the Normans in the south, were panting for the elevation of Hildebrand to be the harbinger of war and terror. That elevation came, on the day after Alexander's death, by popular acclamation and in defiance of the canon of 1059; it was the cardinals who consented (and there is much evidence that they did not like consenting) after the 'people' had chosen. The very name of

[1] I think it is now made clear that Giesebrecht's view of the *Scheinehe* of Matilda and Godfrey must be abandoned. Alfred Overmann, in his *Gräfin Mathilde von Tuscien* (Innsbrück, 1895), p. 240 *sqq.*, sums up the evidence strongly and conclusively on the other side. Matilda was in Lorraine from the autumn of 1069 to the end of 1071, almost certainly with Godfrey, and her mother left Lorraine for Italy in April 1070; probably, therefore, soon after her daughter's marriage. Godfrey was in Italy all the early part of 1073, perhaps trying in vain to persuade Matilda to live with him. But in Lorraine *die Ehe ist wirklich vollzogen worden*, to Matilda's great horror. Overmann's best evidence is some lines in the *Vita Anselmi Lucensis Episcopi* (Madrid, 1870), p. 123, lines 3572 *sqq.*, which plainly show that Matilda lived for a short time with Godfrey at her mother's request. The author of this *Vita* was Bishop Ragner of Lucca, who was a warm friend of Matilda's and wrote in 1095; and he was very likely to know the truth. Overmann also quotes a charter of Henry IV., 9th May 1071, which indicates that a son was at least expected (the words are *si dux* (*Gotofredus*) *vel filius hereditarius, etc.*). There were, in fact, in the later Middle Ages legends of such a son; but, if one was born, he must have died in infancy, and this is borne out by the *Epitomator Veronensis* of Donizo's *Vita Mathildis*, quoted in Pertz, *Scriptores*, xii., 380 *note*. It was then, in all probability, a conspiracy of the churchmen to ignore the actuality of Matilda's marriage, and to represent their champion as a virgin, which led historians astray; and it is certain, from Gregory's correspondence, that he, Gregory, did all he could to separate Matilda from her husband, especially when Godfrey had thrown in his lot so hotly as he did with Henry IV.

'Gregory' VII. was a defiance to the Germany which had swallowed up Hildebrand's first patron, Gregory VI. That Gregory VII. bribed his way to the chair, and with Matilda's gold, is alleged by three contemporaries, and is not impossible but improbable;[1] more likely he was raised by the universal shout of the party which he had been, during his long apprenticeship, preparing for this hour. Now the hour was come, and the man.

Germany, whether friend or foe to King Henry, seemed to be blissfully unconscious that any particular hour had come at all. Hildebrand's patient diplomacy had hitherto confined itself to a few summonses of German bishops for simony; and for two years more Gregory professed to regard Henry as a respectable, if somewhat undevout, son of the Church. He seems to have notified his own election to Henry, and perhaps even asked his confirmation of it; this he probably got after some delay and enquiry. Though his next step was more ominous, the excommunication of five of Henry's private councillors for simony, yet in March 1074 he removed this ban, and as late as the November of 1075 he congratulated Henry on his victory over the Saxons. If only Henry would have proved amenable in the matter of Milan, the quarrel might have been deferred for a time; in the last two months of the year Henry made three clerical appointments in Germany of a kind distinctly pleasing to Gregory. With his Norman friends, for whose support he had recently paid such a heavy price, the Pope was by no means satisfied. In 1074 he had excommunicated Robert Guiscard (who was showing troops in the Abruzzi), and

[1] The question is discussed by Gregorovius, iv., 71, *note*. The authorities to whom he refers are (*a*) the schismatical Cardinal Beno, a collection of whose letters appeared before the end of the century under the name of *Gesta Romanæ Ecclesiæ contra Hildebrandum* (*Monumenta Germ. Hist., Libelli de lite*, ii., 1893); (*b*) Wido, Bishop of Ferrara, *De schismate Hildebrandi*, written before 1086 (Pertz, *Monumenta, Scriptores*, xii.); and (*c*) Landulf, *Mediolanensis Historiæ Libri iv.*, written before 1100 (*ibid.*, viii.). All may, I think, be regarded with suspicion, the first and second being hot supporters of the antipope Wibert, and the last a strong champion of clerical marriage.

sought help against him not only from Richard of Capua, but from Constantinople, Provence, and Savoy, in the next year even from the King of Denmark. In 1076 he made overtures to Robert, who was now planning an attack against the Greeks on the Epirot coast, but Robert turned a deaf ear.

But meanwhile, Gregory had been holding in Lent, 1075, two great synods at Rome, of which one utterly condemned clerical marriage, and the other utterly condemned all lay investiture of clerics; that is to say, all nominations to, or gifts of, any office in the Church by a layman. These decrees he had sent to Henry, accompanied by letters which assumed that they would immediately be enforced.

To the German clergy he had proposed that they should hold a national synod in the same sense; and, when the bishops utterly rejected this and appealed to Henry, Gregory re-excommunicated the five privy councillors as well as a lot of Lombard and German bishops. He also issued an address to the German laity, forbidding them to receive the sacraments from married clergy or simoniacs. He had already suspended and cited to Rome Adalbert's successor at Bremen, Bishop Liemar; and far and wide through the Reich he now sent travelling monks and preachers of the new doctrines, who unquestionably sowed sedition against Henry at the same time. Even if Henry had been willing to hold such a synod as the Pope wished, he would have had his entire beneficed clergy against him. It has been argued that the decree against lay investiture was merely intended to lay down a principle in order to give the Pope a firmer ground for interfering in cases of open simony; but the swiftness with which Gregory followed it up entirely forbids this view. What Gregory meant by the decree really was that half the princes of the Reich were to be severed from all control of the Reich and turned into a foreign state looking to a foreign centre. It was a two-edged weapon, directed not only against the Crown, but also against the independence of the great metropolitanates.

It is quite possible that Henry, who was well read in such history as was extant, thought that a little wholesome opposition would soon bring the Pope round; Wibert of Ravenna, Tedaldo, whom he had recently nominated to Milan, and the Prefect of Rome, Cencius, would be good agents to stir up such opposition; the fickle Romans would make another riot (they had actually made one);[1] Robert Guiscard, who since 1059 had not shown himself at all papally minded and was now suffering temporary excommunication, could easily be made use of[2] . . . .

'Drop your wicked councillors and do penance,' was Gregory's reply, January 1076, to the emperor's refusal to accept the decrees. And Henry answered with the fatal Synod of Worms in the same month.

At this Synod some twenty-six German bishops[3] were present. A deposed Roman cardinal was also present, and told a lot of ridiculous stories against Gregory's private life. The synod at once declared Gregory to be deposed; an imperialist Lombard Synod at Piacenza[4] followed suit. These were the last utterances of the two national churches of the Empire united against Rome.[5] They were a protest against Nicholas II. and Nicholas I. alike; they were Gerbert the schoolmaster of Rheims speaking against Gerbert the Pope; they were Boniface speaking the truth

[1] We have no proof that Henry was privy to this riot, in which Cencius played the leading part. Gregory was maltreated, rescued by a mob, and became a martyr in the eyes of a large section of the Roman *plebs*.

[2] The Normans were at the very moment actually overrunning Camerino and Spoleto, which since Leo IX.'s days had been regarded as papal fiefs. Had Henry been victorious he would certainly have had to reckon with these Normans, either as friends or foes.

[3] But hardly any great temporal princes except Godfrey of Lorraine, who warmly supported Henry and the bishops.

[4] Or at Pavia; see Giesebrecht's note, iii., 1134.

[5] I do not of course mean that they were the last *separate* utterances of the German and Lombard churches against Rome, for the German Church largely supported Henry V., and almost wholly supported Frederick I., in their quarrels with popes, but never again in real union with the Lombard Church.

to Stephen II.[1] And it is very much to be regretted that the Worms protest was uttered in most unworthy and scornful language, such as Gerbert or Boniface would never have used.

And it was too late; the very men who uttered it knew that it was too late: they had let slip the good chance of combining with Cluny in the days of its truer spiritual influence; they had played, after Henry III.'s death, into the hands of feudal anarchy, and they most thoroughly deserved their fall. But it was a shame that they should drag down the German monarchy with them.

Gregory also knew that it was too late. When the news of the two synods was brought to Rome he excommunicated Henry at once, and absolved all his subjects from their allegiance. No such daring step had ever been taken by a pope, and a thrill of terror ran through Europe. But Gregory knew his Europe as well as his Germany, and what he expected Europe to receive at his bidding may be learned from the celebrated *Dictatus Papæ*[2] of 1075, of which the gist is that the Pope is above all laws except of his own making; that he can depose anyone, and absolve anyone from any allegiance; that the Roman Church has never erred, and cannot err; that popes alone have the right to use the *insignia* of empire; that a pope by the mere fact of his canonical election becomes holy (*sanctus*); that his title is unique (*unicum nomen*) in the world. It is difficult to believe that any human being, and one holding the office which these words were written to exalt, could have deliberately uttered such words on behalf of his person and his office; and attempts have consequently been made to claim some share in the composition of the *Dictatus* for the other leaders of the Gregorian party, the Bishop of Sutri, the Bishop of Lucca,

[1] See Vol. I., p. 230, and *note*.

[2] This extraordinary document may be read in full in the *Registrum Gregorii*, ii., 55a (Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*, 174-6); a brief summary of it is given by Gregorovius, iv., 203. The False Decretals repeatedly, and the Donation of Constantine (as referred to in those Decretals) once, are quoted in support of the papal claims.

or Cardinal Deusdedit. But, even if some of the wording may be theirs, the spirit of the whole thing is Gregorian from beginning to end. It is also difficult to conceive a state of society which could even half believe such statements. For the honour of Europe we may say that no nation ever for long assented wholly to them; but the Europe of the eleventh century half assented; it at least trembled, and every anarch, every enemy of every temporal power rejoiced at the weapon that was put into his hand thereby.

The cruel murder of Godfrey the Hunchback[1] a month later (Feb. 1076) deprived Henry of his best friend in his worst need. All his enemies sprang on him at once, Otto of Nordheim no doubt pulling the strings. Gregory, while excommunicating the bishops who had been so rude to him at Worms, had cleverly left them the chance of easy and speedy absolution (which he did not leave to Henry), and many of them hastened to desert their own cause and throw themselves at his feet. Saxony was solid on the same side; the Saxon prisoners, whom Henry had felt obliged to liberate, after swearing to be faithful to him, broke their oath, and the Pope hastened to absolve them for the perjury. The three Southern dukes, Swabia, Bavaria, Carinthia, cared not a straw for the question of investiture, simony, or clerical marriage; what they meant was the restoration of the independence of the princes, so gravely threatened in this and the two last reigns; to recur to our old analogy, they were 'making war on Conrad II.' The fanatic monks all over Germany went about whispering, 'Avoid the excommunicate heretic; think of your own souls.' All 1076 papal legates continued to hold out the hand of

[1] Matilda has been accused of this, but the accusation is quite incapable of proof, and, from anything we know of her or Gregory, it is most unlikely that either had any hand in it. Matilda had long since ceased to think of Godfrey as a husband; her mother died in this year, 1076, and she then came into full possession of her territories. After the murder it seems to have been a mistake on Henry's part not at once to invest young Godfrey of Boulogne with his deceased uncle's fief of Lower Lorraine; but he gave that duchy to his own two-year-old son Conrad until 1089, when Godfrey got it.

absolution to any German prince or bishop who would betray his king, and their success grew every day. Old Siegfried of Mainz, who had led the anti-Gregorians at Worms, cried craven at once, and was at once released from the ban. No one came to the diets that Henry summoned in May and June, but everyone came, and in arms, to the diet that the princes summoned to Tribur, on the right bank of Rhine, in October. Though the king came to Oppenheim on the other side of the river with a considerable following, his troops and his friends were quickly seduced from him by the baleful skill of the papal legates. Otto of Nordheim must have been a superb organiser of treason.

At that diet the princes 'reserved the whole matter for the judgment of the Pope, and would act wholly with him; let him come to Germany next spring and hold a court of enquiry on its king; if he then think fit to absolve Henry, Henry may perhaps be restored to some sort of nominal royalty, but until then he must live as a private person, at Speyer'; his last faithful garrison must be dismissed from Worms; his (few) faithful bishops must be deposed and go in penance to Rome; all his councillors must be dismissed. Only the gentle Abbot Hugh of Cluny prevented Henry's immediate deposition.[1]

It is difficult to see what Henry could have done when superstition and force thus combined against him. The evil of the old German monarchy was that it had no force at its disposal apart from the contingents of the lay and clerical princes. The crime of Henry and of his father and grandfather in the eyes of the princes had been that they had tried to create a monarchy which, in the future, should possess such a force; they had begun to attack the old loose federal organisation of the Reich, with the view of substituting something better for it. Nitzsch well points out that Henry IV. in his early years was the enemy of the old German constitution (*Verfassung*), and that he

[1] When Hugh got back to Rome Gregory characteristically made him do penance for having held intercourse with an excommunicate person.

died, thirty years after 1076, almost its sole defender. For the princes and the popes soon aimed at going far beyond the restoration of that constitution as it had been before Conrad II.; they meant to reduce it to the terms of the reign of Conrad I., to undo the work of Henry the Fowler and that of the Ottos, as well as that of the Salians.

Lombardy might indeed have given Henry a small army, and Wibert from Ravenna seems now to have urged him to appeal to that province; the German princes evidently expected him to do so, for they occupied all the eastern and central Alpine passes. Gregory also evidently expected it, for, when he heard that Henry was on his way to Italy, he, who was already on *his* way to Germany, fell back from Mantua to Matilda's strong castle of Canossa. But I do not think that Henry was prompted to cross the Alps by any hopes of an immediate rising of North Italy in his favour; I do not think he desired such a rising. What he desired first and foremost was to prevent this Italian priest coming to Germany and disposing of the German crown. Herein he showed himself not only a true patriot but a great statesman. He would eat any amount of humiliation (and he had a full meal of it in the next thirty years), if he could save the crown from being tossed to and fro between popes and dukes. So, in a terrible winter (the Rhine being frozen from 11th November till 1st April), he slipped away, with his wife and a few faithful friends, into Burgundy, and, by the help of his good brother-in-law, Amadeus of Savoy,[1] got over the Mont-Cenis; they put the ladies on ox-hides to let them glissade down. It must have needed great prudence on Henry's part to have turned a deaf ear for the present to the yells of joy with which Wibert's party received him in Lombardy; but he went straight on to that grim castle in the Apennines where Matilda, Abbot Hugh of

[1] One must not exaggerate Amadeus's courage; Italy was by no means Gregorian; even Robert Guiscard was for the time in opposition, and nearly all Lombardy the same. Even the Gregorian-minded mother of Bertha and Amadeus, the Margravine Adelaide, helped Henry forward.

Cluny, Queen Bertha's mother, and Pope Gregory VII. were discussing the situation.

Lambert of Hersfeld has invested the story of Canossa with picturesque details—the triple wall—the barefoot king waiting for three days in the snow—the ladies on their knees to the Pope—the refusal of the proffered communion by the penitent himself—for none of which he is likely to have had any authority, some of which are plainly disprovable.[1] Absolution was what Henry came for, and some sort of absolution he evidently got. But he did not get as much as he had hoped. Gregory played his cards with superb cunning. If he had refused to absolve Henry altogether a reaction would have been bound to come, even in trembling Germany. So the Pope dallied so long that he wrung from Henry half of what Henry had come in order to avoid giving, namely, a promise to make an agreement with the princes by his, Gregory's, mediation, and even a safe conduct should he, Gregory, find it necessary to come to Germany on the business. But the other half of Henry's object was gained; he had put off for the time (and, as it proved, for good) this dangerous visit; something was saved. The mere fact of seeking absolution has, of course, nothing humiliating in it, for it is only what every good Catholic must do continually. What was undoubtedly disappointing was that, though restored to the bosom of the Church, Henry was not even promised any restoration to his kingdom. Such was the great event of 28th January 1077.

Canossa has passed into a proverb. 'We don't mean to go to Canossa,' said Prince Bismarck on a memorable occasion; whether the prince's master went there or not, I must leave to those versed in the history of nineteenth-century politics to determine; but I for one wouldn't

[1] *Opera*, p. 192: 'Inania blaterat Lampertus' ('he blithers sheer nonsense') 'harum rerum ignarus,' says Holder-Egger in his notes on this passage of the annalist; *e.g.*, it is quite clear that Henry did receive the communion from Gregory; Lambert has actually lifted the words he uses from the chronicle of Regino of Prüm, describing a similar scene between Pope Hadrian II. and Lothair of Lotharingia (see Vol. I., p. 304). Canossa lies a little south-east of Parma.

take Bismarck's own word as evidence that he did not. Most kings of Europe have been to Canossa in a greater or less degree in their time. Gregory VII. at least now thought that he had got what he wanted; he had humbled the greatest monarch in Europe, as a preliminary step towards universal clerical dominion, and he could now afford to let off very lightly those bishops who came to do penance. The German princes, thoroughly frightened by the possibility that Henry would effect a *full* reconciliation with the Pope, broke faith with him at once, and proceeded to elect Rudolf of Swabia as king.[1] Gregory evidently felt this to be a false step, for he did not recognise Rudolf till 1080. He would not, however, declare against him; what suited Gregory best was anarchy and civil war in Germany. He seems, in fact, to have wished to treat Henry much as Elizabeth wished to treat Mary Stuart in 1569 and the following years; that is, to restore him to some shadow of a kingdom, with a broken character, and in complete dependence on himself. Lombardy, for the moment struck dumb by Henry's humiliation at Canossa,[2] gradually rallied to him after he had got back north of the Alps. Wibert had met him at Piacenza and urged him to fight for his cause.

Fight he must and did, but, as his foes still held all the central passes, he had to go round by Friuli and Carinthia to get into Bavaria. The civil war in Germany need not detain us long. On Henry's side were all the small nobles of Franconia and Swabia, all the peasants and parish priests of south and west, a few abbots and bishops; and at heart all the townsmen, but, except in a few cities like Augsburg, Regensburg, Worms, Ulm, these did not count for much unless their bishops were friendly also. The *plebs* in the Middle Ages often worshipped idols only less

[1] One wonders that the choice of the princes did not fall rather upon Otto of Nordheim, but it is quite probable that they did not want too vigorous or clever a sovereign.

[2] The Lombard bishops were at first so angry with Henry that they tried to get hold of baby Conrad, and crown him king. Henry had to pacify them by leaving the child in their hands as a pledge that he would not desert his own, and their, cause.

ridiculous and worthless than those it worships now; but there is at least no doubt of the devotion of large and sturdy sections of the German *plebs* to Henry IV. for the rest of his life and after his death. Henry armed the best of his peasants like knights, and got them to fight on horseback. He was only twenty-seven when his thirty years of war began, and he at once began to develop that energy, swiftness, craft, and endurance, which astonished his friends no less than his foes. He had of course to throw Church reform, to which there is no reason to suppose he was naturally averse, to the winds, and openly to espouse the cause of the simoniac bishops and the married priests; it was the cause of the nation as well. The only two big men on whom he could at first count as allies were young Godfrey of Boulogne, who would watch the north-west frontier for him against France and Flanders, and the Duke of Bohemia (Henry now gave him the title of King) who would keep the Saxons busy from the south-east, and keep off the Poles on the east. One excellent new ally the king got in 1079, Frederick, Count of Buren,[1] ancestor of the great house of Hohenstaufen; this man's lands lay on the upper Neckar, and to him Henry, who deposed all the three Southern dukes at once, gave the duchy of Swabia and the hand of his daughter Agnes. On the other side was the whole force of the most warlike of the duchies, Saxony, all the contingents of the three deposed Southern dukes, and most of those of the great bishops. On the whole the contest centred itself into a struggle, first for the valleys of the Main and Neckar, and them for that of the upper Saale, for Henry was based on the upper Danube and upper Rhine, while Rudolf was based on Saxony. Rudolf was, of course, quite ready to get foreign aid, but it was mostly fair words that he got from France, Poland, and Hungary.

The Saxon chronicler, Bruno,[2] says of the year 1079,

[1] It was he who built on the height between the Remsthal and the Filsthal the great castle of Staufen, from which his family took its later name.

[2] Bruno, p. 89.

that 'nothing happened except that papal legates came to both parties promising their favour now to this, now to that, and getting as much money as they could, *more Romano*, out of each.' In fact, no one listened much to Gregory or his legates once this frightful war had begun. In 1080 there was a terrible battle at Flarchheim; the evidence as to the result is conflicting, but it was on receipt of the news that Gregory decided to recognise Rudolf as king. The Pope in a public prayer at a synod told the whole story of his wrongs to St Peter and St Paul, calling upon them, who had put him on the apostolic throne, to defend him and to execute his anathema on all Henry's adherents, to let the world know that all temporal possessions were theirs to give and to take away.[1] To all who fought for Rudolf he gave forgiveness of sins and the apostolic blessing. Rudolf defeated Henry in the autumn of that year, 15th October, on the Elster, but died of the wound he there received. Otto of Nordheim and Saxony were quite ready for another anti-king, and in fact one such, Hermann of Luxemburg, was set up in 1081; but from this time onwards, without any great victories, the royalist cause gradually triumphed north of the Alps, and Henry was able to devote the next few years to Italy. The most dangerous rebel, Otto of Nordheim, died in 1082. But the fierce 'patarine' propaganda of the monks, especially of those of the great re-endowed abbey of Hirschau, never died down; a more fiery and a political Cluny had been transplanted on to German soil. No deed was too bloody, no deceit too treacherous, if directed against Henry, to be applauded by these men.

The results of the civil war in Germany were appalling —the manorial administration on the episcopal estates, which had been steadily improving for a century, went all to pieces, and everyone was now compelled to seek, as in the ninth century, not cultivators but fighting vassals. Though the 'feudal ladder' was never complete or simple in Germany, all relations now rapidly became feudal;

[1] Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*, 401.

bishops were enfeoffing their 'ministeriales' as the kings enfeoffed theirs. In more than half the bishoprics and in many of the abbeys, there was a schism raging, two persons claiming the same office; this, in a Church so rich as the German, spelt mere anarchy. There was also a great deal of sheer grabbing going on; stewards of derelict manors set up for themselves as squires. The Truce of God had to be invoked—first in 1081 at Liège, a place distinguished for its royalism,[1] then in the dioceses of Cologne, 1083, and Mainz, 1084, with a 'special peace' for merchants and field-working peasants. Henry observed these truces of God though his enemies seldom did; indeed their priests absolved them for breaches of them! Henry suffered one more very bad defeat at the hands of Hermann and Duke Welf near Würzburg in 1086, but the enemy was quite unable to follow up his success. Hermann died in 1088: Henry's friend, the first King of Bohemia, died in 1092, and the royal title was not renewed to his successors till the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. It is curious to see how, as peace began to spread outwards from the lower Rhine (except to Saxony), and as Henry's steadfastness began to win recognition, the bitterness of his opponents deepened.[2] But on the whole the worst of the actual war was over soon after the

[1] Heavy penalties were enacted for breach of it, and a court to enforce it existed at Liège as late as the fourteenth century. It included provisions to protect serfs against their own lords, and clauses out of it crept into the municipal law of several of the northern cities.

[2] It was not in Germany, however, but in Rome that an attempt to murder him had been made — the schismatic Cardinal Beno (*Epistol.*, i., 5, *Libelli de lite*, ii., 371) says that it was at the instigation of Gregory; the author of the *Vita* merely says the murderer was 'stimulated by some one else's wickedness'—by a most ingenious trick. Henry was used to go and say his prayers at a particular chapel in St Mary's on the Aventine, and the agent of the crime hid himself in the roof just above the emperor's head. He had made a hole in the roof, and had tested the exact drop with a rope; just as he was going to drop an enormous stone on Henry's head, Henry moved slightly from his place, the man [apparently slipped and] fell himself with his stone; the Roman people tore him to pieces.

death of Gregory in 1085. Even Saxony began to show symptoms of 'coming round'; to do her justice, she had not been so much papally-minded or anti-national as honestly tribal and hostile to strong government. Still there remained in her to the end of the reign a party resolutely opposed to Henry, at whose head was the family of Supplinburg, from which was to come the future Kaiser Lothair II.

In the rest of Germany peace grew steadily, and some portion of the lost prosperity was recovered. The line of the anti-king Rudolf died out, and the Hohenstaufen were thereby strengthened in their new possession of Swabia. The Zähringers were compensated for Carinthia with a ducal title and the fief of Zürich. The mere violence of the popes steadily drove back into the royalist camp the greater part of the German Church, and many of the laymen, *e.g.*, Duke Welf of Bavaria. When the irregular levies of pilgrims which preceded the First Crusade murdered a thousand Jews in Mainz, Henry was able to hold a stringent inquest on the murders, and he made a deadly foe of the archbishop of the see by doing so. In 1102 the returned crusader Robert of Flanders gave trouble on the frontier and seized Cambray, but Henry quickly made him drop it and renew his oath of fealty. Just before the final storm burst upon him, Henry was able to hold (1103) a great diet at Mainz, and to proclaim a strong peace for the whole Reich north of the Alps; some of the worst of his previous opponents swore to observe this peace. He contemplated a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and it was a pity that he did not go, for he might have drawn away some of the most turbulent of the knights with him. He was even able to levy some small tolls on the Rhenish cities to help him to repay the loans he had contracted in Italy.

But, as for Italy, whither we must now look, the civil war in Germany entirely prevented him from ever getting a proper German army across the Alps. If Henry after Canossa had to go north and fight for his cause, Gregory had to go south and fight for his. Gregory had made

mistakes too; he had not gauged Robert Guiscard. He had favoured rebels at Capua and Salerno against Robert, who, to Gregory's surprise, made light of excommunication and marched towards Benevento on the road to Rome. Not till 1080 could the haughty Pope make up his mind to stomach this insult; directly he did, Robert, who was in no hurry, was again his very good friend,[1] and was reinvested by him with Apulia and Calabria. But if he expected Robert to begin a direct attack on the Imperialists he was much deceived; Robert had other irons in the fire, and so it was chiefly in Matilda and German anarchy that the Pope could put his trust.

The Normans seem to have 'known their world' even better than the popes. Robert Guiscard was then sixty years of age. Anna Comnena[2] paints him as a giant with fair hair and flashing eyes. His ambition was now definitely directed against the Empire at Constantinople, of which Durazzo on the Epirot coast was the first key. The idea was not so absurd as it sounds; Robert had thoroughly conciliated the Greeks of Calabria, he had left their rite unmolested in the churches, and he used their language in his legal instruments in that province. In 1072-1074 Michael VII. had twice proposed to him marriage alliances if he would send help to the tottering Eastern throne, and so, when Michael fell in 1078, Robert had some excuse for posing as his champion. Robert had even negotiated with Alexius Comnenus before the latter seized the throne for himself in 1081. This seizure, however, meant open war by land and sea, a war which may be said to have occupied the Normans of Apulia almost to the date of the First Crusade, and to have had much influence upon that movement. Robert indeed took Corfu and Durazzo, but Alexius had several strong cards to play against him; he had the Venetian fleet, and

[1] Desiderius, Abbot of Monte-Cassino, was the agent in the reconciliation; his anxiety for it may be explained by the geographical position of his lands.

[2] In the *Alexiad*, i., 12, 50-51.

the alliance of Henry IV., and he cared of course nothing at all for the anathemas of Pope Gregory. But the most potent weapon the cunning Greek could, and did use, was to stir up a revolt of Robert's own Norman feudatories in Apulia. It seems to me fairly clear that not all Gregory's prayers for help against Henry would have called Robert back from Epirus had it not been for this revolt. The adventurer reached Otranto in April 1082, but, though he was able to send Gregory some gold with which to bribe the Romans in 1083, he had no troops to spare till the spring of 1084.

Long before this Gregory had been in a very uncomfortable position; Tuscany had begun to kick against Matilda, or at least against her alliances; certainly she could send him little help. Yet at the Lenten Synod of 1080, Gregory at last made up his mind to recognise Rudolf, to put Henry again to the ban, and to refuse his ambassadors (who protested against his condemnation unheard) even the courtesies of diplomacy. The ban, though ignored in Lombardy, put life into the Gregorian cause everywhere else. It was this no doubt which moved Henry to take the step of creating Wibert of Ravenna antipope as Clement III. in June 1080. This was done at a synod at Brixen, attended only by some thirty bishops, mainly Italians. In Germany few even of the emperor's best friends liked the new schism; a synod at Mainz, indeed, had already declared Gregory deposed some months before, but many of the German royalists were also moderate reformers (that is to say, adherents of *old* Cluny), and the schism was felt by them to be too deep a pledge against Church reform; besides it was wholly a Lombard job in its origin. Wibert was a good man, learned and prudent, but he was no match for Gregory, still less so for Urban II.; it was, perhaps, significant of his own opinion of his chances that he did not resign his see of Ravenna. Henry must of course support him with arms, such arms as he could raise in Lombardy and the old Exarchate which was devoted to Wibert. The result was the four-year-long contest for the city of

Rome,[1] 1081-1084. Here again let us try to avoid the details.

The points to seize are that Henry's armies were always small, that fever was always operative on them, that the walls of Rome were all but impregnable, and that either the magic of the personality of the heroic Pope, or the gold freely supplied by Matilda and Robert Guiscard, long kept the fickle Romans true to Gregory's cause. Henry too got a little gold, both from some of the Italian cities (*e.g.*, Pisa, which thus early foreshadowed its 'Ghibellinism'), and from the Greek Emperor Alexius, who was fighting desperately against the Normans at Durazzo. After the failure of his first siege in 1081 Henry retired to Tuscany and was well received by such cities as were kicking against Matilda's rule; he gave great privileges both to Lucca and Pisa, both already deadly enemies of Florence (which Matilda specially favoured), and not yet, as his son Henry V. was to find them, deadly enemies of each other. But it would be difficult to exaggerate the loss of prestige that Henry suffered by his failure to take Rome; no German king with an army had ever yet failed, and no doubt his failure tended to raise the hopes of the rebels in Germany. Matilda too, hard pressed as she was, never lost heart, and melted all the rich church-furniture of Canossa into coin to help Gregory. None of Henry's sieges of Rome lasted long; but in 1083 he took the Leonine city, though Gregory stoutly held out in St Angelo. Once in possession of the Leonina the king strove hard to negotiate; Gregory would listen to nothing, though his Roman friends implored him to give way. Early in 1084 Henry made the great mistake of marching south to support the Norman rebels who had been in arms against Guiscard for two years; it was the last thing he should have done, for it warmed that astute gentleman's somewhat tepid zeal for the Pope. Meanwhile most of the leaders of the Roman people resolved to give way, and opened their

[1] Henry started for Rome in March 1081, and was very well received as he passed through Lombardy.

gates to Henry just before Easter 1084.[1] He returned and was crowned Emperor by the antipope in St Peter's; his wife was crowned with him. Several towers in the rest of the city were still holding out for the Pope, and these Henry took one by one, half destroying the Septizonium and the Capitol in the process. He would almost certainly have reduced St Angelo also if Robert had not at last struck in on the side of Gregory.[2]

Henry was not the man to fly before an imaginary danger. So we may be sure that the Norman army was both large and efficient, though of course one wishes that the emperor had stayed to fight it out before the Latin Gate. The iron hand of the Normans was welding with fearful cruelty the mixed populations of the South, Greek, Lombard, Saracen, and native, into a warlike if turbulent state; the Saracen element was probably the strongest in the army that entered Rome—almost certainly admitted by treachery—in May 1084, just as Henry had drawn off to the North. The Romans fought desperately, street by street, and were slain in thousands, and the career of the most terrible pope that ever uttered anathema ended amid the ruins of blazing Christian churches and crumbling imperial monuments. Nor Goth, nor Vandal, hardly even papal restorer, wrought half the damage to the remains of antiquity that the Norman sack wrought in May 1084.[3] Accompanied by droves of his own enslaved people (whom

[1] The dates are: Henry's entry, 21st March; coronation, 31st March; departure, 21st May; entry of Robert, 28th May.

[2] It is interesting to see that the prudent Abbot of Monte-Cassino sent word both to Gregory and to Henry that the Normans were coming—as if he were not yet sure which side would win.

[3] Henceforth the Capital of the World was a city of ruins, both actual and metaphorical. Rome of course lost enormously, though the popes gained, by the Crusades. Ever since the re-advance of Byzantine arms in the tenth century, pilgrimages to Jerusalem had begun to supplant pilgrimages to Rome. And, almost alone of Italian cities, Rome gained little commercial advantage from the ensuing trade with the East. Even externally she never recovered from this Norman sack until the renaissance of classical architecture began to touch her in the fifteenth century. The authorities for the sack are well compared in Giesebrecht, iii., 1163, 4.

their captors 'sold like Jews,' says the Italian bishop Bonitho [1]), Gregory accompanied his deliverers to Salerno, where he died on the 25th May 1085. Robert quietly renewed his campaign against the Greeks, and died two months after Gregory (17th July).

Gregory VII. was canonised by a milder Gregory than himself in 1584. The fact that he had to wait for five centuries, when a worthless scoundrel like Hanno was sanctified in one, is remarkable, even significant. There must have been many high-minded Gregorians in thorough sympathy with his ends, who could only blush when they remembered the means he had used to gain them. He had simply twisted the Church into the wrong, the fatal, path of universal temporal dominion, from which even St Bernard could not wholly bring himself to turn aside, against which even St Francis pleaded in vain. Perhaps the true reformers felt this now, for during almost a year there was no election; then a very rich and rather mild abbot of Monte-Cassino provided a stop-gap for a year as Victor III.; seven months after Victor's death, on 12th March 1088, the ablest of all the Gregorians, a French nobleman, once a monk at Cluny and already Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was chosen as Urban II. He was chosen in Norman territory at Terracina, for, in spite of a fierce siege by Matilda in June 1087, Wibert the antipope remained in possession of Rome till a Norman army turned him out in 1088.

The possession or loss of Rome (indeed he soon lost it again) mattered little to the Pope, who was in 1095 to call all the French-speaking peoples to the First Crusade. It was not to Roman territory that the embassies from Constantinople, from France, came. It was not on Roman soil that the cry of 'id Deus Vult' was raised around the majestic figure of Urban. With his left hand the Pope hurled his Norman friend Roger on to the remaining Saracens in Sicily, with his right he beckoned the best fighting blood of Europe to the East. What cared he for barbarous Germany and its civil wars? In truth he needed

[1] Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*, p. 680.

its princes no longer; as for its bishops, he was quite ready to receive and pardon any of them who would desert their own cause. True, he still had to deal with the emperor in Italy, for Henry stuck doggedly to his task and to his antipope; from 1090 the emperor was for seven years continually absent from his homeland, and engaged in Italy.[1] His long fight during these years was more with Matilda than with Urban, and he used almost wholly Italian troops; once he very nearly succeeded in storming Canossa, but on the whole he was losing ground. Against him Urban and Matilda patched up the first league of the Lombard towns in 1093, the Patarine party finally triumphing over the nationalist Ambrosian party in the Milanese Church, and the first city 'Consuls' being appointed in Milan in 1099. Against him they espoused in 1094 the cause of Henry's second wife, a Russian lady who committed adultery with her stepson, quarrelled with her husband, flew to his enemies, and published a lot of scandalous lies about his private life.[2] Against him they had already contrived the monstrous rebellion of his son Conrad, who had been his father's lieutenant in Italy since 1087, a weak, hysterical boy of nineteen in terror of the Church's thunders. Conrad was crowned King of Italy in 1093, and a new outbreak of the Milanese democrats declared in his favour. But his new friends soon dropped him; Henry was able to declare him deposed, and to crown his younger son Henry, aged sixteen, at Aachen in 1099;[3] Conrad died unforgiven in 1101. Against Henry,

[1] March 1090 till March 1097; from 1084 till 1090 he had been continually in Germany.

[2] Bertha died in 1087, and in the next year Henry married Praxedis, called Adelaide, daughter of the Russian Prince of Kieff, and widow of a Saxon count. Her morals were distinctly Slavonic. She confessed shamelessly to the adultery with Conrad in 1095, but pleaded that the emperor had incited her to it. Matilda received her as an injured, if slightly erring, sister, and Urban laid a light penance on her. She retired to Russia, and died in a convent in 1109.

[3] Notice that Henry, who not unnaturally grew suspicious as he grew older, made this son take a most explicit oath that he would

too, Urban thought he had made a great hit as early as 1089 when he married Matilda, aged forty-two, to young Welf, the heir of Bavaria, aged eighteen; but this did not turn out so well, for the young man and his father gradually discovered that there was no marriage-settlement, that Matilda's vast lands were already settled on the Church. So, in 1095-1096 the 'avarice of the Welfs' triumphed, and for a time they threw themselves hotly back into the Imperial cause, the elder receiving from Henry his forfeited title and lands, as Duke of Bavaria, in the summer of 1096.

All this, however, meant very little, and Henry's cause lost ground as steadily in Italy as it gained it in Germany. When Henry left the peninsula for good in 1097 only a few fortresses were holding out for the antipope, and, if Urban had trouble with 'his Romans,' it was not on account of the emperor or of Wibert. That personage just overlived Urban (who had actually made use of French Crusaders, on their way through Italy to Palestine, to expel Wibert's party from Rome), and died in 1100. His cause had long been hopeless, and, though he was able to appear once more in arms before Rome just after Urban's death, he had during his last few years barely been safe at Ravenna, and was sometimes compelled to take refuge in a neighbouring castle. The next pope, Paschal II., got hold of his bones and threw them into the Tiber. The shameful sequel of the story of Henry IV. belongs wholly to Germany.

Meanwhile we must look for a moment at the progress of the Norman arms in the south after Robert Guiscard's death in 1085. Robert left by his first wife only one known son, Bohemond, afterwards the famous crusader and Prince of Antioch; by his second he left three sons and several daughters. Bohemond, who should have inherited all, got by his father's will only the principality of Taranto; Roger, the second son, nicknamed 'Borsa' won (we do not know how) the support of his Sicilian uncle Roger, and was

never rebel, and never even attempt to interfere in business of state in his father's lifetime.

recognised as Duke of Apulia in the autumn of 1085. He was a dull fellow, who had no importance in history, and he kept no order among his turbulent vassals. He died in 1111, but left one son, William, as dull and inefficient as himself, who lived till 1127. This weak rule left the stage fairly free (with the exception of Bohemond, who had little luck at home) for the rise of the real power which was to create the 'Kingdom of the two Sicilies.' Roger I., whom we left in possession of the seaports of the Island, took more than twenty years to finish off the castles of Moslem bandits in the interior. Each bit of land that he swallowed he fortified with castle and garrison; he subdued the towns rather by treaty than by arms; he gave toleration to the Moslem faith; he incorporated stout Saracens with his Norman and Lombard armies.[1] He had no Greek Church to contend with in the Island, and so he had little difficulty in establishing the Latin rite, and he reorganised the dioceses and named bishops unhindered. Nevertheless, Urban II. made him papal legate for all Sicily in 1098. In civil matters he kept the old administrative divisions which the Moslem had probably left undisturbed from Greek days. He created no big fiefs, but he freely invited colonists from the maritime cities on the mainland. Thus, when he died in 1101, he was practically king of Sicily and held a piece of Calabria as well. European powers had recognised his importance, and France, Provence, Hungary, and the German prince Conrad had all sought marriage alliances with his family. He left two sons, the elder of whom died in 1105, and a widow, Adelaide, who acted as regent until she went off in 1113 to marry Baldwin, King of Jerusalem. It was she who moved the seat of government to Palermo in 1112; and it was her second son, Roger II., who ultimately became the first King. Little help from the Normans was needed by Pope Urban after

[1] Eadmer the Englishman, who came with our Archbishop Anselm to see Pope Urban at Bari, says (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clviii., 101) that he forbade his Catholic priests to convert his Saracen soldiers.

1097, and if Paschal II. needed some against Henry V. we have no proof that he got any.

Germany was, at the end of the eleventh century, lying apparently in an uneasy backwater, half at peace, half at war; none of the antipopes who succeeded Wibert had seriously troubled Paschal II.; Welf of Bavaria had gone off on that abortive Crusade of 1101, of which I will tell in another chapter; the younger Henry had been crowned co-king in 1099; the prosperity of the Rhenish cities was steadily returning—when, towards the end of 1104, some one, not, I think, at first Paschal,[1] began to work upon the young king to demand a greater share in the administration than his father allowed him. Probably he was tired of waiting for his crown; his father was still a vigorous man of fifty-four, and he might have to wait long. He therefore began to profess himself uneasy about the schism and about his own soul. No tool of the Church, like his brother Conrad, was he to prove—rather he was to make a stout effort to use the Church as his tool. Perhaps he may really have argued somewhat thus: 'This father of mine will never get himself reconciled with the Pope, and our house will fall to the ground; I had better take up the lead of the business.' An atmosphere of treason and civil war is always a dangerous one for a prince to grow up in; the young man was going to cheat Paschal as well as his own father. What promises he actually made to the Pope, except the renunciation of the schism, we do not know, but it seems certain that he never promised to renounce the right of investing ecclesiastics; it seems equally certain that Paschal was led to believe that he had done so. The Prince had sworn a stringent oath of fealty to his father, and, of course, the Pope at once absolved him for his coming breach of this oath. Henry V. had all the

[1] Giesebrecht, iii., 722 *sqq.*, seems to allow too much weight to Paschal's interference at this moment. No doubt Paschal stimulated the Flemish attack on Cambray in 1102, which I mentioned above; but young Henry's first embassy to Paschal, asking for advice about the breach of the oath which he intended to commit, was not sent till the end of 1104, when his treason was already ripe if not already known to his father.

ability of the great Salian race without any of his father's sense of honour or lovable character.

Material for a civil war was never long wanting in feudal Germany; the author of the *Vita* says that the worst elements of society were chafing at the peace; the peace brought plenty to the good, but poverty and hunger to the bad; 'men who had lately ridden foaming war-horses now had to be content with a sorry mule; and the bargees on the rivers plied their trade in safety, while the commanders of the robbers' fortresses on the banks starved.' The elder Henry's best friend, Frederick of Hohenstaufen-Swabia, died at this unlucky moment; Mainz was already his enemy about the Jew-murders of 1096; Saxony led by Lothair of Supplinburg was spoiling for another fight. In 1105 young Henry began to court all these unquiet elements, to court Saxony above all. Rome sprang at such a chance. We know very little of the real details of the story, but on the whole we may regard it as a belated but very dangerous after-wave of the recent storm. The young king prudently watched his opportunity to declare his cause openly; when he did so, his plans were all laid and his followers were ready, whereas the old king had hardly anything to hand in the way of forces. But old friends, and many new, quickly rallied to Henry IV.—Nuremberg, Würzburg, Mainz, Regensburg. In August 1105 there was very nearly a bloody battle between father and son, but even the young king shrank from this. He did not, however, shrink at the end of the year from taking his father prisoner, by an act of the most devilish treachery under the pretext of a conference.[1] At Kreuznach the old king, in return for the promise of absolution and liberation, agreed to abdicate; he surrendered the *insignia* of the Reich; he knelt in tears to his wicked son; he was made, like Louis the Pious of old, to confess to a whole string of crimes, which he and everyone present knew that he had never committed. And he had to be almost starved before he would agree to

[1] Ekkehard, *sub anno* 1105, denies that there was any initial treachery, and says that the deceptions came afterwards.

such a humiliation. Whether actual violence was used on his person we do not know, but there is nothing improbable in such a thing. This was at Christmas 1105. Then the papal legates, who had encouraged him to submit under promise of absolution, declared that they could not give him the communion without the express authority of the Pope. He was conveyed to Ingelheim, and at Mainz the archbishop and Paschal's legates crowned his son as Henry V. in the presence of nearly all the princes of the Reich. Even the two young sons of the deceased Hohenstaufen duke, and their mother, Henry's own sister, hailed the rising sun. It was an appalling drama of cruelty and treachery for the highest spiritual authority in Christendom to sanction. In bitter wrath the old king contrived to escape to his friends at Liège, and there quickly gathered a good army. The son hardened himself to attack his father, but was badly beaten on the Meuse; the city of Cologne shut its gates against the son, and after three weeks of siege he retired to Aachen. Only the sudden death of his father in August 1106 saved him from very probable ruin. On 7th August Henry IV., after fifty-six such years as few kings ever lived through, died forgiving everyone, sending his son his signet ring with prayers for a long and happy reign, sending even a tranquil and kindly message to the Pope, and making his last communion devoutly. The Church pursued Henry IV. after death, and laid interdicts on every place where any attempt to bury him was made. Not till Henry V. had taken Pope Paschal prisoner in 1111 could the body of the 'father of the poor' be laid to rest at Speyer, in the cathedral which his grandfather Conrad had built, to be the Aachen of the Salian race.

Crafty, energetic, and unscrupulous as Henry V. was, he was in a most extraordinarily uncomfortable position, both civil and religious, at his father's death. What exactly he had promised to Paschal in return for the crown is unknown, but Paschal believed that he had promised complete renunciation of investitures; and one wonders that any pope could have been so simple as to

believe anything of the kind. No doubt the bishops as a whole would come to acquiesce in such a renunciation, for they would keep their vast estates without having to make any payment to the crown, and, if they lost a great deal of their former independence to Rome, well, Rome was far away. The lay princes would acquiesce only too joyfully, for the union of king and bishops had been a most serious check to their power; with the aid of independent bishops they now expected to rule the Reich and the Kaiser after their own wills. The only support the Kaiser would have would be his own 'ministeriales' and the growing towns; Henry knew all this too well, and saw, therefore, that he *must* again grasp the Church to counterpoise the lay princes. He would let the Pope win at least in the matter of clerical celibacy, whether it led to fornication or not; but for the right of investiture he would fight tooth and nail.

Some things were strongly in his favour. A period of civil war always produces a crop of new families, and this was no exception. The Billung family was extinct in Saxony, and Henry might have fairly expected (though he did not find) loyalty from a recent ally when he confirmed that province as a duchy to Lothair of Supplinburg; Swabia at least, in the hands of the Hohenstaufen, was devotedly loyal to the crown; Thuringia had recently passed to a new family. The civil war had ruined the dangerous pretensions of Bremen to a northern patriarchate, and the Scandinavian countries had now an archbishop of their own at Lund.[1] On the other hand Henry had no money and, until he could reassert his power over the bishops, little means of getting any; he could command a fine army of knights eager for Italian plunder, but he had no infantry and so he could seldom take walled towns. We are very ill informed as to the events of his first four years, but it is clear that Henry, unlike his father, was no great soldier, and found at first no one to take his place in the field. Thus his earlier frontier campaigns against Flanders, Hungary, and Poland brought him little

[1] From 1104; Trondhjem dates from 1152; Upsala from 1163.

success, and merely kept him from tackling Italy and the papal question until he had been four years on the throne. And this was in spite of the fact that he was able to use Saxony as a starting point against the Slavs and Hungarians, as his father had not been able. He had to abandon a siege of Pressburg in 1108, just as his grandfather had to do in 1052. He managed to cross the Oder in 1109, but failed to take Glogau or any other Polish fortress in Silesia. He had little better success against Robert of Flanders, whom he was obliged to leave in possession of most of the county of Hainault. During those years Paschal II., who had succeeded Urban in 1099, certainly began to feel uncomfortable. His first steps were friendly, as for instance when he recognised, without imposing penances, a long string of German bishops who had received their investitures from Henry IV.[1] But he at once forbade lay investitures for the future. Henry's ambassadors were anything but reassuring on this question; 'did not the Pope know that Hadrian I. had expressly given Charlemagne the right of choosing bishops?' Paschal complained that he 'did not find in German hearts that humility for which he had hoped;' he therefore retired to France and summoned Henry to Troyes.[2] Henry replied that he would prefer to settle matters in Rome, a message which must have sent a shiver down Paschal's back; and in 1110, having got a good ally in his namesake of England, to whose daughter he was already betrothed,[3] he assembled a large army[4] of knights at Regensburg for the Italian campaign.

Now was clearly made visible for how little devotion

[1] Not all were pardoned, and old Otbert of Liège, in whose city Henry IV. had died, was deposed, in spite of the fact that he was a devout reformer.

[2] The Council of Troyes was in May 1107; Paschal returned to Rome in November.

[3] Matilda was seven years old at the betrothal in 1109 and came at once to Germany; the marriage was solemnised in 1114.

[4] Giesebrecht, iii., 804, allows him thirty thousand men; such figures always seem to me incredible.

to the Church[1] had counted in the hostility of Germany to Henry IV. The sons of the very men who had, in union with popes, bullied that king from school-days to grave, hastened to do the bidding of his son, if necessary on the actual person of a pope. Henry held the usual diet at Roncaglia, and summoned all the vassals of North Italy to his standard. North Italy which, at least in Urban's time, had been won over to the anti-imperial cause was coming round again. The cities were growing into great commercial powers, but they hated each other so bitterly that there was little fear of a renewal of the League of 1093. Milan was fighting Cremona and Lodi; Pisa was fighting Lucca. Matilda was getting old, and promised Henry her obedience if he would excuse her vassals from marching upon Rome. We do not know what privileges Henry gave to the Lombard cities, but only one (Novara, which he destroyed) resisted him; and Milan in after years claimed 'only to pay such *fodrum* as Henry V. had asked for.' Henry picked out Pisa for special favour; he wintered at Florence, and even Florence seemed to be quite tame; Arezzo, which showed some opposition to his southward march, he treated very harshly. The Normans were dreadfully worldly and successful, and, as we have seen, there was little help to Rome to be expected from them.

Henry thus drew near to Rome lord of all North Italy, terrible and unopposed; Paschal had come back in 1107, and had found it necessary to come to some sort of terms. With whom the astonishing proposals of the Treaty of the year 1111 originated is not clear, nor is it clear whether king or pope was in earnest over them.[2] But the terms

[1] 'Why not eat the fat monks?' said Ulrich of Horningen, at the siege of Limburg. The suggestion had the effect of making the monks produce the ample stores of food they had hidden for their own use (Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici I.*, i., 14).

[2] Giesebrecht, iii., 1198, collects the authorities, and shows the difficulties in the way of accepting the story as we have it in the official pieces collected in Pertz, *Monumenta, Leges*, ii., 66 *sqq.* Neither Ekkehard nor Sigebert of Gembloux gives a version that can be trusted.

of that treaty were that all clergy *except the Pope*[1] should surrender their fiefs and regalian rights to the emperor, and the emperor for his part would then renounce lay investiture. The clergy were henceforth to be supported solely by tithes and offerings. It was disestablishment, *plus* the very largest measure of disendowment. The idea was not wholly new; Damiani had suggested something of the kind to Hildebrand. But even if the Pope would agree, it was certain that the German and Italian bishops would not. Indeed, it is more than probable that Henry had already given assurances, to the German bishops at least, that he did not mean really to deprive them of their *regalia* and lands, but merely to assert his own suzerainty over them. As for the Lombard bishops, we must remember that the events of the past hundred years had stripped them of nearly all their *regalia;* though Matilda and the rising cities, rather than pope or emperor, had become their heirs.

However, the formalities were drawn up and accepted by Henry at Sutri; Henry was received in Rome, and was to be crowned in St Peter's (which he had insisted on filling with his own troops) after the treaty should have been recited there. It evidently took a long time (on 12th February 1111) to read it, and, as the reading proceeded, first murmurs, then yells of derision, finally shouts of 'heresy' 'heresy,' rang through the building. Then began a scuffle, and at last an open fight which spread from the church into the streets. Henry's knights closed round the unhappy Paschal, and, though the Romans attempted a rescue, he and sixteen of his cardinals were led out of the city as prisoners the next day. Possibly Henry had planned the whole thing to turn out as it did. He was an adept in the art of treachery; this example of it was not unlike that of 1105. For sixty-one days, in vain hope of Norman or Matildine help, and, as Paschal afterwards alleged, in fear of a violent death, the Pope and

[1] Henry promised to restore the temporal estates of the Pope to their ancient limits; some writers have seen in this the first definite recognition of a 'Papal State.'

cardinals remained at Tivoli in Henry's clutches. 'I will not let thee go unless thou bless me,' said Henry; and Paschal was at last fain to give way; he granted the right of investiture as if there had never been a Hildebrand in the world, and hastily crowned Henry Emperor on 13th April. Henry at once retired, apparently victorious, to Germany; he was at last to be allowed to bury the father whom he had so shamefully wronged. On his road home he had a most important interview—with no less a person than Matilda herself, at her castle of Bianello near Canossa. We do not know exactly what passed, but two things are fairly clear, first, that the old lady came and went in peace and was well received; secondly, that Henry afterwards grounded his imperial claim to be heir of all her lands upon some promise which he asserted that she then made to him.

But once back in Germany he found trouble enough awaiting him. Such a storm as he himself had raised in 1105 does not subside quickly, though it may be lulled for a time. The emperor's detestable personal character, his avarice, his treachery, his hard-heartedness, though they could inspire great fear, could never inspire love, and his troubles were aggravated by a long string of private quarrels with great people. The Saxons were just as rebellious under their new Duke Lothair as they had been under the Billungs. For the first year or two after his return he was fairly successful, and he put down the first of the Saxon revolts, in which, indeed, there was little or no Gregorian influence at work. But, once rebellion was started, the monkish legions were not slow to turn it to their own ends, and to give it a religious ground. By 1114 the whole of Germany was again aflame, and the Saxons gave Henry's troops a very bad beating at Welfesholze in the next year. Henry's efforts to tread his father's path and to conciliate the towns of the Rhine against their bishops proved vain. With Speyer and Worms, to both of which he had given liberal privileges, he had some success, but Cologne shut its gates against him as it had done in his father's last

year;[1] and for Cologne, by this time the richest trading place in Germany, to espouse the papal cause was a serious matter. In Mainz the citizens compelled the emperor to liberate the archbishop whom he had captured and imprisoned; in short, there was another weary civil war which flickered on, and flared up fiercely at intervals, till 1119. Only in the south-west, where Duke Frederick of Swabia drove bishops before him and built fortresses everywhere,[2] was the royalist cause really prosperous. Meanwhile, the Roman Church rapidly rallied from its temporary shock even before German anarchy had come to its rescue again.[3] But what was it to say to its own head and to that terrible Treaty of 1111? If the victory won by Gregory and Urban were not to be wholly thrown away, Gregory's own statement, that a canonically elected pope cannot err and never has erred, would have to be jettisoned; Paschal would have to admit that he had erred. He did not like doing it, but the lead passed into stronger hands than his own, into French and Burgundian hands, and especially into those of Cardinal Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, a great nobleman who had been the soul of resistance in 1111. In March 1112 Paschal solemnly ate his own words and confessed that he had done wrong. Although, to do him justice, he always refused himself[4] to excommunicate the emperor, he allowed his legates to do it, and Henry was solemnly cursed at several places both inside and outside the Reich—at Cologne and Goslar as well as at Rheims, Vienne, and Jerusalem. It was at Vienne in September 1112 that Cardinal Guy called him

[1] Cologne had always feared Henry's vengeance for the events of 1105, and only waited for a good chance to rise against him.

[2] It became a proverb, says Otto of Freising (*Gesta*, i., 12), that 'Duke Frederick always has a fortification at his horse's tail' (*i.e.*, as he rides about the country).

[3] We must remember that by this time almost all the cardinals must have been Gregorians; those appointed by Wibert had never been recognised by Urban or Paschal.

[4] Neither Henry nor Paschal himself ever quite gave up the idea that they might one day come to terms, and there were long negotiations between them.

Iscariot, and once more declared all lay investiture to be heresy. A full German synod at Cologne might actually have declared against him, if the legate entrusted with the job had not died suddenly. In 1115 the Church and the German rebels seemed to be quite in union, and to be winning the game. Worse still, Alexius Comnenus was in open traffic with Paschal for the restoration of the Empire in Italy to the Greeks.

Then, on 24th July 1115, died old Matilda leaving, as all good churchmen afterwards believed, all her lands, alodial and feudal alike, to the Roman See.[1] The true boundaries of these lands have never been defined, and it was probably even then difficult to distinguish between alodial lands and fiefs. The countess's deed of gift of 1102, of which a fragmentary copy alone remains, did not apparently specify any places, and the Church in after years claimed almost anything in virtue of this donation. The Welfs claimed many of the fiefs; Henry V. and his successors claimed all the alodial lands, if not all the fiefs; anyone to whom later emperors gave the old name 'Margrave of Tuscany' claimed the whole. But Matilda's real heirs were the Tuscan cities,[2] and it is interesting to see that Florence appointed her first 'consuls' soon after the great countess's death.

[1] Besides Tuscany these included Reggio, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena. The whole question of the gift is extremely dark. Was there a will at all, or only the deed of gift of 1102? If so, what relation has that deed to her promise to Henry in 1111, and what were the terms of that promise? Giesebrecht (iii., 1208-1210), goes thoroughly into the question, and suggests that the deed of gift of 1102 was only the putting in writing of a much earlier expressed intention, probably declared to Gregory VII.; further, that it was an absolute gift to take effect at once, but that Matilda, also at once, received back her lands for life as fiefs of the Church. But neither this nor anything else solves the question of Henry's position as her heir. That he was recognised as such even by extreme papalists there is no doubt. Only one authority, Donizo, the author of the rhymed *Vita Matildis* (ii., 173), speaks of a will, as opposed to a gift, and says it was made at Canossa in 1077.

[2] Whether or no the Countess is 'quella pia . . . che conducitrice Fu de' miei passi lungo il fiume pria,' in Dante's *Purgatorio*,

This, almost our first meeting with the most beautiful and worst-governed city of mediæval Italy, will perhaps excuse a brief digression. Professor Villari[1] has pointed out the sources of strength and weakness of Florence, her importance as a trading post at a great river-crossing on the Flaminian Way, her exposure to robbery from the castle-crowned heights on the hills that surround her, especially from her oldest and bitterest rival Fiesole, to which a steam-tramway will now convey the tourist in less than an hour. That she was late in assuming the lead even in Tuscan history was largely due to geographical reasons; Lucca, Siena, Arezzo were all more favourably situated, and the first real capital of the district was Pisa. Pisa was, in one aspect, the first crusader in history, for she had been fighting the Mussulman at sea and raiding his African ports, his Balearics, his Sardinia, his Sicily before there was any serious Norman power in Southern Italy; and her very enterprise and desire of freedom brought her athwart whatever ambitious noble might be seeking to make his fief of Tuscany into a territorial power. Boniface, Matilda's father, was such a man, and his clumsy attempts at oppression drove Pisa to become the first and only enduringly 'Ghibelline' (or Imperialist) Republic. With surer instinct for the future of Italy, the Florentine traders patched up a close alliance with Matilda herself; we do not know the date at which the forerunners of the famous gild of the *Calimala* began to import coarse cloth and wool, to dress the former and weave the latter into fine cloth, but it must have been quite as early as Matilda's time; and perhaps not much later was the

xxxii., 82, that is to say his guide through the Terrestrial Paradise, before the appearance of Beatrice, seems uncertain. As a Florentine patriot Dante would naturally revere the name of Matilda, whose real history and deeds had long become legendary. Beatrice (*Purgatorio*, xxxiii., 118) certainly calls this guide 'Matelda,' and the identification seems to be the natural one; but some modern commentators prefer to find Dante's guide in one of two obscure German nuns of the same name of the thirteenth century.

[1] *The First Two Centuries of Florentine History*, by P. Villari, (London, 1894).

date of the first Florentine banking business. The city, before the great countess died, had begun to wage a steady war on her own neighbours as well as on robbers, always with a view to securing the safety of the roads to Rome, Arezzo, Bologna, and Pisa, and her first important conquest, early in the twelfth century, was Prato. It seems, then, most probable that, when Matilda died, a full-blown Commune under its own magistrates (the consuls aforesaid) must have taken over the government, resolved to resist any new Imperial Margrave that might be appointed, though the first mention of her consuls that has come down to us is of the year 1138. But neither Henry V., Lothair, nor Conrad III. had leisure for any serious attempt to govern Tuscany, and so the Margraviate gradually dropped to pieces until Frederick Barbarossa's time. Florence may not have been the pioneer, but she was the greatest practitioner, of the art of compelling small knights and noblemen to come and reside within her walls. This gave her a good nucleus of fighting men, but led inevitably to that system of civic feuds which broke the heart of Dante, and ended by destroying the liberties of the city. But it was the insatiable greed of her merchants which made her the typical tyrant towards all the cities which became subject to her.

For the moment, whatever might happen in Germany, Henry would have to prevent the Pope getting any of this Tuscan inheritance, and so he had to hasten, though without an army, to Italy in 1116; Frederick of Hohenstaufen seems to have done the better for the royalist cause in Germany in consequence of his master's absence (1116-7-8). Henry came first to Venice and was very well received there; he employed the good offices of the Doge to throw cold water at Constantinople on the Italian ambitions of Alexius. In April we find the emperor at Canossa; if he had had any ordinary human feelings (but he had none) he would have been uncomfortable there. On he went, practically unopposed. He might have fared differently if Gregory or Urban had been in the chair of St Peter when the Matildine lands fell in; as it was he

had a very fair measure of success both with the Lombard and Tuscan cities, and with the smaller vassals of the late countess. No open protest about the possession either of fiefs or alodial lands was raised by any pope in Henry's lifetime. Thus he certainly recovered the imperial suzerainty over most of Northern Italy, but he was unable to come to any terms with the Pope who avoided meeting him; all the cardinals but one fled from Rome, and Henry, after being fairly well received by the Romans and recrowned by this solitary Cardinal Burdinus in March 1117, retired to Lombardy. Paschal just got back to Rome, and died unreconciled in January 1118; Gelasius II. was a stalwart Gregorian, who fled to France and died at Cluny next year. Henry returned from Lombardy to Rome and actually created a brief antipope.[1] Then, February 1119, Cardinal Guy was elected at Cluny as Calixtus II. There is something not unattractive about Paschal II. in his later years, for he was often very hard pressed, and found few friends among his own party. The Treaty of 1111 was no doubt often hurled in his teeth; but he showed great patience, and rather conspicuously avoided the intolerance of language which Gregory VII. and Urban II. had made the order of the day. He had reigned longer than any pope since Hadrian I. in the eighth century.

Henry returned to Germany in October 1118, and the next year found, much to his own surprise, that that stout Gregorian Calixtus, though he again excommunicated his opponent, was beginning to show symptoms of readiness to accept a compromise, perhaps because the royalists were beginning to win in the German civil

[1] That same Cardinal Burdinus, whose unpleasant fate at the hands of Calixtus II. in 1121 is recorded by Suger (*Gesta Ludovici Regis cognomento Grossi*, xxxvi., p. 95, ed. Molinier, Paris, 1887, in the *Collection des Textes*): 'he was put tortuously' (probably with his face to the tail) 'on that tortuous animal a camel, covered with bleeding goatskins, and so led through the streets of Rome,' and then sent to perpetual prison at a monastery in Campania. He was still alive in 1137. The election of Burdinus was quite ridiculous; three long-deposed cardinals of Wibert's creation were dragged from obscurity to carry it through, and there were very few clergy present.

war. He even favoured a land-peace which Henry proclaimed in 1119. The famous logician, William of Champeaux, now Bishop of Châlons, and a good abbot of Cluny, met Henry that year (1st October), and told him that 'we in France never heard of such investiture as you exercise in Germany; we have no sale of clerical offices in our Church; and yet you see our king (Louis VI.) is growing more powerful every year; his bishops don't flout him as yours do you.' This was really a quibble, for the French Church had no such powerful prelates as the German or North-Italian. Calixtus summoned a great council of the French, Burgundian, and German churches to Rheims, and sought for a personal interview with Henry in the neighbourhood. But the suspicious emperor spoiled this by coming with a large army to the place appointed; naturally the Pope feared a trap such as that of 1111. At the council at least one form of compromise was discussed and well received; but before it closed, Henry's obstinacy led to a fresh anathema being uttered against him, and Calixtus went off to Italy early in 1120. Then for two and a half years, Pope and Emperor fenced with each other by diplomatic missions, until at last some of the better lay princes of Germany, having had peace in sight for so long, came forward to act as mediators. In doing so they expressly reserved their own right to be consulted on all Imperial business. The solution finally reached by the Concordat of Worms, 23rd September 1122, was really that of a famous Canon lawyer, Bishop Ivo of Chartres, put forward some twenty-five years before, and it was this:—A bishop needs his temporal power to enable him freely to exercise his spiritual power; the latter he derives from his election alone; the former, after his election, he *may* receive from the emperor before he is consecrated—but it shall not be done by the giving of the ring or staff which are the symbols of spiritual power only; it shall be done by touching with the sceptre. In Germany it shall be done before consecration, and the election though 'free and canonical' (*i.e.*, by the Chapter of the Cathedral) shall

be in the king's presence. In Burgundy and Italy the investiture with the temporalities may be deferred till six months after consecration. In the diocese of Rome the Pope shall give both temporal and spiritual investiture; here again the 'Papal State' is recognised as an independent sovereign power. Where there is a disputed election, the appeal shall lie not to the Crown but to the metropolitan, and in the cases of metropolitans to the Pope.

As things went the Concordat was a reasonable compromise. Archbishop Anselm and King Henry I. had reached it, for England and Normandy, sixteen years before; and certainly no one could say that either Church or State had suffered by it in England or Normandy. Although the extreme Gregorians felt beaten, Calixtus was thoroughly satisfied, confirmed it all in a Lateran Synod[1] of March 1123, and died at the end of the next year. Towards the remnant of recalcitrants both in the German and Lombard churches, this great Pope had shown himself most conciliatory; the Lombard bishops, indeed, were now completely tamed, and the emperors, even if they should quarrel again with the popes, would not be able to count upon serious support in that quarter. But it must be remembered that, after all, the Concordat had only settled *one* point in such quarrels, that of investitures. As long as popes remained popes and emperors tried to remain emperors, other points of quarrel were bound to arise. Also, 'to every concordat remaineth the interpretation thereof.' Henry V. himself thought that he had gained a victory, and the fact that the Gregorians cried *jubilate* at his death in 1125, favours this view; but that the emperors who succeeded him were

[1] The synodical decrees do not mention investiture by name, but by ordering canonical election and unhindered consecration they assume the victory of the Church. They also definitely forbid simony and clerical marriage, and the acceptance of these points without opposition may be regarded as marking the end of the struggle, and marking it wholly in favour of the Pope. The Synod also decreed that monks who were in Holy Orders should be under episcopal jurisdiction; here, as the whole history of the next three centuries was to prove, it completely failed.

less satisfied than the popes with the stage that had been reached in their mutual relations, the history of the ensuing hundred and twenty-five years abundantly proves.

Neither in Germany nor in Italy were things quiet at the time. Henry, after the conclusion of the Concordat, had been drawn by the influence of his father-in-law,[1] Henry I. of England, into an open quarrel with France, and had put in 1124 an army on foot for an invasion of that country. He was in very ill heath, and had never been, as his father had been, distinguished either as a knight or as a general in the field; and it was perhaps fortunate for Germany that he thought it prudent to retire, when he learned that the French feudatories had laid aside their quarrels in order to meet him with a very large host. The English alliance was very unpopular in Germany; and, as to Otto IV. nearly a century later, so now to Henry V. were ascribed plans for the introduction of the Anglo-Norman system of direct taxation. Such an idea was always a terrible one to a mediæval German. And though Henry's childless death at the age of forty-four was a real loss to the Reich, not many of his contemporaries considered it to be such. His final place in history eludes us as that of no other Salian; all that we know of his character is repulsive,[2] and of his person no sketch remains; but it looks as if he were a very strong able man, wrestling with several tasks which he could not conduct to a successful issue, mainly owing to his own selfish treason of 1105. If he had never revolted against his father he might have inherited the loyalty, if without the personal devotion which that father in his utmost straits never lost, of large masses of his subjects; at any rate he could have taken up his father's task (which was clearly his own also) with unstained hands.

[1] This influence only became important after the death of Prince William of England in the wreck of the *White Ship*, for Matilda, Henry V.'s wife, then became heiress of England and Normandy.

[2] Suger (ix., p. 24) calls him a man 'affectus paterni et totius humanitatis expers.'


Schleswig
R. Eider
DITMARSH
HOLSTEIN
WAGRIA
Oldenburg
Ploen See
Neumünster
Segeberg
Bergu
R. Elbe
Lübeck
SLAVANIA
Mecklenburg
Rügen
Wolgast
Jonsburg
Demmin
MERANIA
Stade
Hamburg
Schwerin
Lauenburg
Bardowiek
Lüneburg
Oldenburg
Bremen
R. Weser
R. Elbe
NORDMARK
Salzwedel
Werben
Havelberg
R. Oder
Gussen
SAXONY
Tangermünde
R. Havel
R. Spree
POLAND
Minden
Brandenburg
Brunswick
Süpplinburg
Hameln
Hildesheim
Magdeburg
Goslar
Brätherstadt
Corvey
Harzburg
Harz Mts
ANHALT
Nordheim
Wolfenbüttel
LUSATIA
SILESIA
Glogau
Soest
R. Weser
Halle
Eichstädt
Merseburg
Meissen
Erfurt
R. Unstrut
R. Saale
R. Elster
THE
NORTH-EASTERN EXPANSION
OF GERMANY
Scale of Miles
20 0 20 40 60

ARGUMENT OF CHAPTER IV

SAINT BERNARD and King ROGER II. of Sicily, at mutually opposite poles of thought and activity, ought really to fill the canvas in this period to the exclusion of everyone else ; the five popes and the two kings of Germany who are contemporary, make a very poor show beside these great figures. It is the Cistercian age, and Bernard is the life and soul of the Cistercian movement. To some extent this is a return to a truer conception of the spiritual mission of the Church than any manifested by Gregory VII. or Urban II., for Bernard scolds worldly popes quite as much as he scolds kings. But 'Church above State' is as much his cry as it was Gregory's, and, in the hands of popes who are deaf to Bernard's spiritual message, this means dominion in temporal things as well as in spiritual. Bernard, indeed, strains the cord so tightly that, with the failure of the Second Crusade in 1147-1148, there is a great reaction in Germany in the direction of nationality and independence, as we shall see in the next chapter. Roger, meanwhile, is going on with great strides (i.) towards the creation of a strong Erastian monarchy, centred at Palermo, but extending on the mainland of Southern Italy to within easy striking distance of Rome ; (ii.) towards dominion in the Mediterranean Sea ; (iii.) in hostility to the Eastern Empire. He takes advantage of a purely Roman schism in the Papacy to get for himself a crown, and supports Anacletus, the Pope whom Bernard rejects ; only after nine years of schism does he come round, and then upon his own terms. The two successive kings of Germany, LOTHAIR II., who is crowned Emperor by Innocent II. in 1133, and CONRAD III., the first Hohenstaufen king, who is never crowned Emperor, are bound to be hostile to Roger, partly because each is a tool of the Papacy, and has been placed upon the German throne by the influence of Rome in alliance with those German princes who wish for weak government ; partly also because Roger's pretensions to dominate Italy are quite incompatible with the continued existence of the Empire. Lothair, the first 'Guelf' emperor, is successful in his war against Roger ; Conrad, who is crowned King because the growth of the Welfs

has become by 1137 as threatening to popes and German princes as that of the Salians had been, can never get at Roger, in spite of a close alliance with the Eastern Empire against him. The results of these two reigns are, in South Germany, increasing anarchy and great family feuds, especially that between the Welfs and the Hohenstaufen, soon to be respectively 'Guelfs' and 'Ghibellines'; in North Germany, steady progress of the colonisation of the country between the Elbe and the Oder; but even this is troubled and hindered, and will be much more hindered in the next period, by the jealousy between the Saxon Duchy and those smaller powers which ought to be its fellow-workers. In Italy, north of the dominions of Roger, the results of the same two reigns are a great increase of trade with the East through the channels of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, a great increase of the independence of the cities, the establishment of consular or semi-republican government in a great many of them (our eyes should not be fixed too exclusively on Milan), and the extension of this spirit to the city of Rome itself, which sets up, in the teeth of popes, a sort of Republic with a Senate. Finally, this is also the period of the rapid development in France of some measure of free-thought, which St Bernard calls heresy, and of a good deal of real popular heresy in Northern Italy; little of either variety spreads to Germany, but elsewhere the First Renaissance has begun. Will the Church be strong enough to crush it? Not one of the names of the five popes of this period is worth putting in capital letters in this argument.

For Genealogical Tables of the rulers of Germany, Italy, Flanders, Lorraine, and Sicily, see Tables to Chapter I.

TABLE I.—CONTEMPORARY POPES, 1125 to 1152.

Honorius II.		1124 to 1130
Innocent II.	[Antipope Anacletus II., 1130-1138]	1130 „ 1143
Cœlestine II.	St Bernard's popes	1143 „ 1144
Lucius II.		1144 „ 1145
Eugenius III. (the Cistercian Pope)		1145 „ 1153

TABLE II.—CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE, 1125 to 1152.

JOHN Comnenus	1118 „ 1143
MANUEL Comnenus, his son	1143 „ 1180

TABLE III.—CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS IN ENGLAND.

Henry I.	1100 „ 1135
Stephen (at war with Henry I.'s daughter, Matilda)	1135 „ 1154

CHAPTER IV

LOTHAIR AND CONRAD III., 1125-1152

ONE result of the first great act in the 'Contest of Investitures' must not be overlooked. It and the Crusades taken together had begun to open people's eyes a little. St Bernard might try hard to shut them again, but he would not be wholly successful. All sorts of things began to be questioned in the twelfth century, which had been unquestioned since Charlemagne sat heavily upon the beginnings of theological disputation, or at least since Gerbert became Sylvester II. There were going to be some lively heretics now; there was soon going to be a University of Paris, a University of Oxford. In practical Italy lawyers were going to discuss the origin of law, and what gives law its force; there were Law Schools at Ravenna and Pavia, there would soon be a University at Bologna. Germany, it is true, was to be little touched by learning as yet, but it is in the reign of Henry V. that her outward expansion to the north-east, dropped since the death of Adalbert of Bremen, begins again. The royal power had little or nothing to say to this; it was at first rather the work of the natural enemies of the kings, the Cistercian and Premonstratensian monks. One of the clerks of Henry's chapel, Norbert by name, 'got religion' in 1115, went to France to be instructed in it, and founded for Augustinian canons the Abbey of Prémontré, near Laon, in 1119; he became Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1126, and, until his death in 1134, played to some extent the part of keeper of Kaiser Lothair's conscience. During the next few years daughter-foundations of Prémontré began to appear on the Elbe, and the first Cistercian founda-

tion in Germany dated from 1121. The new monks were the harbingers of agriculture and stock-raising in North-east Germany, as they were on the wolds of Yorkshire. Also Christian missions now penetrated to the land that was afterwards Mecklenburg, and even to Pomerania. A Polish king, who had conquered the land at the mouth of the Oder in 1120, 1121, actually sent for good Bishop Otto of Bamberg to come and evangelise his new subjects; Otto, who was in the unfortunate position of being both a royalist and a strong high-churchman, was only too glad to escape from the political struggles in the south, and earned for himself the name of the Apostle of Pomerania.

The angle of the Baltic Sea called Wagria (on the eastern border of Holstein), where Lübeck was soon to reign as merchant-queen of the north, was then covered with thick forests, and its few settlements, whether of Dane, half-Christian Slav (the latter dating from the time of the Ottos, when there had been Christian settlements even into far Pomerania), Wend, or adventurous Saxon, were utterly at the mercy of heathen Slavs and of miscellaneous pirates, the dregs of the old Vikings; of the *Gaue*[1] at the mouth of the Elbe no Billung had ever really been master, and their Saxon populations lived almost as barbarously as their ancestors had lived before Charlemagne. Now the good monks and bishops were going to change all that, and the good and bad temporal princes too; Norbert, who became Archbishop of Magdeburg (1126-1134); the two Adolfs of Schauenburg, successively Counts of Holstein (1110-1164); Albert 'the Bear' afterwards (1136) first Margrave of Brandenburg; Conrad of Wettin, who in 1136 added Lusatia to his Margraviate of Meissen; above all the Welf Duke, Henry the Lion. It was by no means wholly an unselfish or peaceful crusade or colonisation; always these men planted colonists in order to get rich; often they swept out the existing owners, and put in Frisians or sturdy

[1] The German *Gau* corresponds more nearly to a large English 'hundred' than to an English county.

peasants from some other part of Germany. The Holsteiners themselves did not at all like these intrusive colonists and often rose against them; in 1147 they were actually suspected of having called in the Slavs against the new German settlers, and (most dreadful offence) they would *not* pay tithes. Such trade as was created by these conquests and colonies would naturally flow towards the Rhine, and especially towards Cologne, which more and more became the London of Germany. There was soon to be a colony of German merchants and artisans in Danish Roeskilde, another in the Isle of Gothland, a third in Constantinople; and more remarkable still, a King of Hungary, Geisa II., sometime between 1143 and 1145, asked for a colony of Saxons to be sent to him, to people and cultivate his distant and barbarous dependency of Transsylvania.[1]

[1] Our great authority for the expansion of Germany to the north and east, down to 1168, is the *Chronica Slavorum* by the Saxon Helmold, who became priest of Bosau on the Ploën Lake, not very far from Lübeck, soon after 1156. He bridges the gap in Northern history between Adam of Bremen and his own continuator, Arnold of Lübeck, who begins in 1172 and goes on to 1209. Helmold is indeed such a remarkable writer that I may perhaps be excused a somewhat lengthy note upon him. He is almost wholly free from the absurdities and credulities of mediæval clerics, and yet he was, so far as we know, a mere parish priest. True he thinks that Wollin was so called from its foundation by Julius Cæsar. But he sees things whole as almost no other chronicler does; he sees the *map* of the Reich, knows how the civil wars of the South and the invasions of Italy hindered the great task of Slav conversion; knows (and says, p. 83) how Ekkehard burked this fact and burked the vices of Henry V.'s government; sees the immense geographical importance of Lübeck, and the value of the Danish alliance; hits off in a few strokes the character of races and of individuals; for instance, though he thinks the Slav the natural enemy, he can praise his hospitable qualities. His greatest admiration is reserved for Adolf II., Count of Holstein (1130-1164). He accompanied his Bishop Gerold of Lübeck on a long expedition into Slav territory in 1155, and helped him to smash a wooden idol of the god Prove, and to cut down a sacred grove. His views on the lack of truthfulness of historians (p. 188), 'whom love or hatred so constantly diverts in one or the other direction,' are classic in their comprehensiveness. I have used the excellent edition of Helmold by Schmeidler, in the *Scriptores in Usum Scholarum*, 1909.

The obvious heirs of the Emperor Henry V. were his Hohenstaufen nephews Frederick and Conrad, of Swabia and Franconia,[1] sons of the first Frederick, Duke of Swabia, and of Henry's sister Agnes, whose second husband was Leopold of Babenberg, Margrave of Austria; and to one of them the lay princes might have rallied, had not the papal legates and the papally-minded Archbishop of Mainz tempted them with the prospect of continued and increasing independence if the throne were treated as elective. Harbingers of civil war, these men gathered to Mainz, and a committee of election from each of the four duchies was appointed. The elder of the Hohenstaufen brothers, Frederick, was inclined to stand on his hereditary right, but was thrust aside by an adroit trick of the archbishop, and Lothair of Supplinburg, Duke of Saxony, was elected. Leopold of Babenberg, and perhaps also Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, had been mentioned as candidates, as well as Frederick and Lothair.

Lothair was by no means a young man, and he had only one child, a daughter; his exact age is not known, but he was probably at least sixty. Henry V.'s last years had been spent in a contest with him, and the duke had beaten the emperor.[2] Evidently Lothair won his election by detaching the Welfs of Bavaria from the heirs of the old royal house with the promise of his ten-year-old daughter Gertrude's hand for Henry the Proud,[3] and the promise of the Duchy of Saxony for their descendants, although one of this Henry's sisters was already the wife of Frederick of Swabia. Once the election was over Frederick accepted it loyally, did homage to Lothair, and did not move till

[1] Conrad had been endowed with ducal power in Eastern Franconia, to the prejudice of the rebel Bishop of Würzburg, by Henry V. Frederick, his elder brother, was then thirty-five and was married to Judith, sister of the Welf Duke, Henry of Bavaria.

[2] It is interesting to see that during this contest Lothair himself enriched two families, the Ascanier and the Wettin houses, that were one day to upset his own heirs.

[3] Henry, the father of this Henry the Proud, died in the year after Lothair's election; the son was then about twenty; the marriage with Gertrude took place in 1127.

he and his brother were deprived of their lands. Lothair also conciliated another old enemy, the house of Zähringen, already in possession of the County of Zürich, by practically abandoning to it the administration and all the rents of Upper Burgundy. Also he made some very extensive overtures to the new Pope, Honorius II., but what exactly he promised about the Concordat we don't know for certain. There is an account of his election by an anonymous papally-minded eyewitness, which indicates that he abandoned it;[1] but the man was very probably lying, and Lothair's later practice looks as if he upheld it and even tried to go beyond it. At first indeed he seems to have been obedient; we know of two instances, at Trier (1131) and at Regensburg (1132), where the bishop was consecrated before being invested with his temporalities. When the bishops themselves committed simony with their chapters (as no doubt they frequently did, buying their election from these electors instead of from the emperors) Lothair did his best to punish them. No doubt it suited him at first to pose as parsons'-king[2] as well as princes'-king; but he was a valiant old fellow, and ended twelve years later not far short of a real emperor.

The first and perhaps the worst mistake he made was in a deliberate attack on the Hohenstaufen brothers, by demanding back from them all grants of former imperial territory, or of confiscated territory, which had been made to them by the Salian line: the demand had a show of royal power in it, for of course the Salians ought not to have given away any imperial lands; and here for once a distinction was drawn between imperial lands and house-lands of the reigning family. A diet at Regensburg in Lothair's first year declared these lands, which included the rising city of Nuremberg, to be restored to the Crown. Lothair's whole policy (and there was a good deal to be

[1] *Narratio de Electione Lotharii* in Pertz, *Mon.*, *Scriptores*, xii., pp. 509-512. The validity of this story, and the whole story of the election is discussed in Giesebrecht's long note, iv., 416-418.

[2] *Pfaffen-Kaiser*; the name is given to Charles IV. in the fourteenth century.

said for the principle of it) was to build up a strong family power, based upon broad lands which were all to descend to his Welf son-in-law, and to be in the future a real royal domain. But the immediate result was civil war, in which the towns were strongly for the Hohenstaufen; Swabia and Franconia took the same side, and the nation was divided into two camps, the camps which afterwards became those of 'Guelf' and 'Ghibelline.' In December 1127 Conrad[1] was elected anti-king at Nuremberg by his partisans, and thus the clerical weapon of 1077 was turned against the clerical party. If Conrad had been as able a man as his brother he might have won; the two brothers acted together, Frederick was to fight for the cause in Germany, Conrad went off in the spring of 1128 to wake Italy. All the anti-Gregorians there (and there were still plenty of them) would rally to him, and a good many of them did. The old Ambrosian anti-Roman party came to life again for a moment in Milan, and Conrad was crowned King of Italy by a Milanese archbishop in 1128. But outside Lombardy he had no success, and even Lombardy soon fell away. He had started with a fair following of troops, but had experienced a steady stream of desertions. Had he not had the luck to capture an Archbishop of Trier (who was on his way to Rome to get him, Conrad, excommunicated), and to pawn him to the people of Parma for six hundred pounds, he would not have had enough money to get back to Germany with.

Luck, moreover, played into Lothair's hands. On the death of Honorius in February 1130 there followed in Rome a purely Roman schism. We now begin to hear of two great families among the Roman 'barons,' the Frangipani and the Pierleoni. These seem as if they would be able to treat the Papacy as the Tusculan counts and the Crescentii had treated it in the tenth and early eleventh centuries; in fact, if you take away the imperial, or some other powerful foreign influence, it is what

[1] The younger brother in preference to the elder because, being away on pilgrimage, he had never sworn fealty to Lothair as Frederick had done.

must happen. The breath was scarcely out of the body of Honorius when in one church a large majority of the cardinals elected Cardinal Peter Pierleoni as Anacletus II., while in another a small minority elected Cardinal Gregory as Innocent II. Innocent was some three hours ahead, which perhaps enabled his courier to get the start of Anacletus's courier, for each at once sent notice of his election to Lothair. Cluny for a time[1] supported Anacletus, himself once a Cluniac monk, and, strange juxtaposition, Roger II. of Sicily supported him very strongly. The worst things about Anacletus were that his grandfather was a converted Jew, though one would have thought that Cluny would have purged that taint; that he was acceptable to the Roman people; that he was willing to buy Lothair's support by offering to confirm the Concordat; that Archbishop Anselm of Milan was for him. The best thing about Innocent was that the votes cast for him were all by extreme Gregorians.[2] He at once fled to France, and so strong was the tradition of 'Pope in exile' that to the high-churchmen all over Europe it became manifest that, votes or no votes, canon of 1059 or no canon, Innocent must be the right man; that the Pope who had Rome for him must be the wrong man! St Bernard, now beginning his great career of spiritual dictator, expressed this feeling, 'Innocent is Pope';[3] he scented his foes from afar, an independent Archbishop of Milan, a most secular-minded King of Sicily, the pope-hating Roman people. Note also that now for the first time Citeaux openly defeated Cluny.

[1] In October, however, Innocent was welcomed by Abbot Peter at Cluny on his way through France.

[2] Pierleoni was educated at Paris, became a monk at Cluny, was made a cardinal by Paschal, was promoted by Calixtus, had been legate in more than one country. He had twenty-nine votes for him as against ten for Innocent.

[3] Compare especially St Bernard's Letters, 124, 126 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. clxxxii. I follow Migne's order of the Letters for the sake of convenient reference), *anno* 1131; no past services, such as those of Gerard of Bayeux, an old and faithful legate of the last three popes and an extreme Gregorian, will protect a supporter of Anacletus against Bernard's fury. Gerard, however, persisted in his wickedness

Now Lothair's worst sin against German nationalism is that he made no use whatever of this opportunity, by which he might have recovered all that the two Henries had lost. He had every chance of doing so; Conrad had wholly missed his aim in Italy (and neither pope even thought of asking *his* support), and in the German part of the civil war, too, Lothair was beginning to win. But in March 1131 Innocent and Bernard met Lothair in a great diet-synod at Liège and, so far as we know, without any clear stipulations on behalf of Concordat or German monarchy, Lothair agreed to instal Bernard's *protégé*[1] in Rome. How different was the lot of France! In the autumn of that year Innocent crowned and anointed Louis VII. at Rheims in the lifetime of his father; the great French monarchy was already foreshadowed.

During 1131 and 1132 Lothair was busy on the north-east frontier, and not till 1133 could he take a small[2] army to Italy to fulfil his pledge to the Pope. As he passed southward he found the civil war raging in Bavaria, and had to punish cruelly the city of Augsburg which tried to bar his path; Regensburg, Passau, Eichstätt, and Brixen were also burned or otherwise ill-treated; and it is

till his own death in 1136. Then, of course, he died unconfessed and his body swelled horribly (Ernald, *Vita Sti. Bernardi*, ii., 7). Compare also Letter 127, *anno* 1132, to William X. of Aquitaine, 'they (the Anacletians) have the Duke of Apulia for them, but he is the only prince they have, and him they have bought with the ridiculous price of an usurped crown.' Bernard sings a very different tune to King Roger as soon as the latter has dropped Anacletus (*vide infra*, p. 143).

[1] Innocent, if he had ever needed to bid for Bernard's support, certainly won his gratitude by conferring on the Cistercian Order the most extensive exemption from episcopal jurisdiction imaginable. He confirmed all its property, gave it absolutely free election of abbots, and exempted it from all payments of tithe (St Bernard's Letters, 228, 229, *anno* 1131). The jealousy of Cluny, which failed to obtain this last exemption, is illustrated by these Letters, also by Letter 352.

[2] Giesebrecht will allow him 1500 knights; excepting a Bohemian contingent nearly all were Saxons (iv., 75, 433). Henry of Bavaria was busy fighting Frederick of Swabia more on his own account than the Reich's; he had lately tried to catch Frederick by a night surprise and to burn him alive in a church.

important for us to grasp the point that frontier towns like these were just the places that had been most loyal to the Salians, and would be as loyal to any Kaiser except a papally-minded one. In Italy Lothair found his pope already beginning to win; Roger was in trouble with one of the frequent insurrections of his nobles; Genoa and Pisa, usually hostile to each other, were united against Roger, and, though Milan still held for Conrad, most of the other Lombard cities welcomed Lothair. Innocent met him at Roncaglia in November, and they advanced without serious opposition upon Rome. When they arrived there in May 1133, though Anacletus held doggedly on to St Peter's and the Leonine city, Lothair was able to instal Innocent in the Lateran, and be crowned there as Emperor in June. The extreme Gregorians were by no means satisfied; they wanted Lothair to swear fealty to Innocent, and they soon began to put about a legend that he had done so. Some colour was given to this story by the fact that the Pope, who in the summer of 1132 had been on a tour in the north, and had claimed possession for the Church of the lands of the late Countess Matilda, now invested Lothair and his wife, for their joint and several lives,[1] with these lands as vassals of the Church. This was indeed a rich gain for Lothair as an individual prince; for the Empire it was a shameful concession, and it easily led men to say 'Vassal of the Church'; when an imperialist with a blush might reply 'for Tuscany only,' the papalist would answer 'No, sir, for the Crown as well.' To bolster up this legend the famous picture was painted of Innocent on his throne, with Lothair kneeling to him, and the couplet implying vassalage written beneath it.[2]

[1] Thus it is a personal grant only, and was not then intended to extend to Lothair's Welf heirs. See Giesebrecht, iv., 437.

[2] See Vol. I., p. 257. The story of the picture in the Lateran is told both in the *Annals of Cologne, sub anno* 1157, and by the continuator of Otto of Freising (Ragewin), *Gesta Frederici*, iii., 10. Ragewin says that Frederick got Hadrian IV. to remove it. I do not know of any authority that had actually seen it; and who in Italy in 1137 could paint a picture? Perhaps it was a mosaic.

It seems probable on the other hand that Lothair did get from Innocent some private promise that the Concordat of Worms (if indeed he had ever renounced it) should be upheld, or at least that Lothair's present practice, whatever it may have been, of getting control over episcopal elections should not be disturbed;[1] indeed it is quite possible that Lothair might have squeezed greater concessions out of Innocent if Norbert of Magdeburg, who was acting as St Bernard's lieutenant with the emperor, had allowed him to do so. St Bernard had now gone to talk to Milan[2] and convert it from its obstinate Ambrosian anti-papal attitude, and he was so successful in this that it was in Milan that Innocent soon found a refuge. Bernard visited several other cities in Lombardy with the same intention; he has been blamed for not patching up a league, in the Pope's interest, between them; but, even if this had been possible in view of their mutual hatred, it does not seem likely that such a league would have been pleasing to Bernard. When Lothair now returned to Germany he seemed to be coming home after a very fair success; the churchmen cried him to the skies, and the result was that the Hohenstaufen party in 1135[3] was ready to submit, receiving very easy terms, and a ten years' peace was proclaimed at the Diet of Bamberg by

[1] It was of great importance to the Church not to recognise this openly, and she could afford to wink at a good deal in order to avoid a renewal of the contest. Mr Fisher (*The Mediæval Empire*, London, 1898, ii., 70) goes, I think, too far when he says that Lothair and subsequent German sovereigns treated the Concordat with contempt, though in practice they evaded it upon one pretext or another.

[2] Bernard's pontifical tour through North Italy is well illustrated by his Letters. Letter 314 (*anno* 1134) shows that he failed at Cremona. In Letter 131 (1135) he has to remind the Milanese that they had cordially accepted Innocent at his hands. Perhaps they were then wavering again, for he tells them 'remember you gained nothing from your flirtation with Conrad in 1128, except the deposition of your archbishop by the Pope.' For his success at Genoa and Pisa, see Letters 129, 130 (*anno* 1133).

[3] The details of the civil war, fought out wholly between Henry of Bavaria and Frederick of Swabia, do not concern us; but it was fairly continuous for seven years, and was carried on in the most

the mouth of the good Bernard himself. Denmark did homage in 1135; Bohemia was Lothair's very good friend; and, at a diet at Merseburg, a Polish prince actually carried a sword of state for Lothair, paid up twelve years' arrears of tribute, and received investiture with the province of Pomerania and the island of Rügen. Even distant Constantinople sought Lothair's alliance against Roger of Sicily, one of whose numerous ambitions was now directed towards the Greek Empire.

This Roger is one of the most remarkable figures in mediæval history. An excellent study of him in English has recently been published by Mr Edmund Curtis,[1] and Ferdinand Chalandon in his great work on Norman Sicily shows how thoroughly Roger deserves to be considered the hero of his country. In his toleration to the Moslem he was only treading in the steps of his father; in his statesman-like determination to create a great Mediterranean power, in his patience and his craft for the execution of his plans, he went far beyond him. The result of his reign was the creation of a most 'modern'-looking state, and the transmittal of a tradition of uniform government to his more famous descendant the Emperor Frederick II. Very early in his career (1123) Roger began to plan the conquest of the Carthaginian peninsula, and stretched out his hands to greet the rising power of Catalonia, whose city of Barcelona was interested in keeping at bay the Moslem pirates from North Africa. In 1127 the prospect of getting all Southern Italy into his hands was opened to him by the death of William, Duke of Apulia (grandson of Robert Guiscard); there was anarchy in Apulia both before and after this death, and Pope Honorius II. naturally supported anarchy against

savage manner; Lothair when he returned was no less cruel than his Welf supporter had been. Frederick's submission was made at the Diet of Bamberg in March 1135, and he then received back not only his Duchy of Swabia, but all the heritable property of the Salians which had not already been alienated. Conrad submitted in October and was equally well treated.

[1] *Roger of Sicily and the Normans of Lower Italy*, London, 1912 ('Heroes of the Nations' Series).

Roger. Roger's progress came more from bribes and treaties than from arms, and he strove hard to 'manage' Honorius. The Pope, however, was reckless, and preached a crusade against him; even then Roger preferred to face and starve out the few troops that Honorius could collect rather than to shed blood. The result was that in 1128 Honorius was compelled to recognise Roger as Duke of Apulia, and Roger, stubborn at the right time and pliant at the right time, at once assisted his late antagonist to put down a rising of the Beneventans. He used his victory with studied moderation, confiscated no lands of Apulian rebels, and only insisted on garrisoning the cities and fortresses. He forbade private war, protected merchants and pilgrims, and insisted on the nobles surrendering their pet brigands to his justice. The last fief to submit was Capua (1130).

Roger's recognition of Anacletus was probably a mistake, but it was a perfectly natural one, and he was at once rewarded with a crown. He was crowned at Palermo on Christmas day 1130, and the island portion of his realm was enthusiastically in favour of his elevation. But on the mainland neither the nobles nor the towns (whose extensive privileges Roger must violate if he were really to be an order-keeping king) approved at all. One by one Amalfi, Bari, Capua, Naples, raised the flag of revolt. They appealed to Innocent and to Lothair, and it was not till Lothair had left Italy that Roger could return in 1133 and take vengeance on them. Terrible and swift (as always when he did strike) this vengeance was; if Machiavelli had known anything about the strong Norman kings of Sicily, he would not have needed to take such a ruffian as Cæsar Borgia for an example of the 'right use of cruelty.'[1] Roger destroyed the defence-works of the rebel cities, laid Troy in ashes, and distributed its inhabitants; Capua, Nocera, and Naples held out the longest. Pisa, inflamed by Bernard's promise that 'God would make his abode in her' if she would resist the Sicilian

[1] *Il Principe*, cap. xvii.

tyrant,[1] and inflamed perhaps still more by commercial jealousy against the rising maritime power of the said tyrant, sent aid to the blockaded city of Naples, and burned Amalfi. The result was that by 1136 just enough of rebellion was left simmering on the mainland of Southern Italy to afford fuel for Lothair's second expedition to kindle into flame.

There was no rest for this old warrior-emperor who half unconsciously had made himself the tool of the Church; in the autumn of 1136 he had to set forth to Italy again to do Bernard's bidding on those wicked Normans and their antipope. 'Apulia,' said Bernard, 'is imperial territory, go and take it from these heretics'; did the Saint forget that Pope Gregory had given that same Apulia to those very heretics as a fief of the Church? This time Lothair's army was a really large and good one;[2] the reconciled Conrad, bearing the banner of the Reich, marched side by side with his Welf enemy, Henry of Bavaria. A regular crusade was preached against Roger as the sole upholder of the schism. Constantinople would help too, for it was tired of meeting Roger's armed merchantmen (whom it called pirates) on all its seas and coasts. There was the usual assembly at Roncaglia, notable this time for a law (which repealed that of Conrad II. on the subject) to the effect that mediate vassals might alienate their fiefs with leave of their overlords. There was some delay in North Italy, and in 1137 a double advance (by an Adriatic and a Mediterranean route respectively) was made upon Roger's great stronghold of Bari, a Pisan fleet assisting the emperor. The King of Sicily prudently withdrew his greatest strength into his island, but had to see his garrisons—

[1] The sad fruit of papal policy in Italy is well illustrated by the fact that not only Pisa and Genoa, but till the middle of the twelfth century, their rival Venice also, were almost invariably hostile to Sicily; if their fleets could have combined with each other and with Roger's, they might easily have put an end to Moslem dominion in the coasts of the Levant and Mediterranean.

[2] We do not know the total; Bavaria of itself sent as many knights as the whole of Lothair's army on his previous expedition.

Bari, Trani, Melfi, Amalfi, Salerno—overpowered one by one and his Saracen soldiers hanged.[1] Roger would fight no battles, but his captains hung on the skirts of the German army, and bribed its traitors into mutinous growls against the Kaiser and his pope. Innocent was present at the successful campaign, but he was by no means pleased when the old Kaiser treated Southern Italy as if St Bernard had meant what he said, installed a German abbot, Wibald, in Monte-Cassino, and expressed a desire to invest a Norman rebel with the Duchy of Apulia as an imperial fief;[2] still less was he pleased when Lothair created his Bavarian son-in-law, Henry, Margrave of Tuscany—which of course meant the lands of Matilda! Lothair had never sworn fealty to Innocent for these lands, though he had accepted a ring as a symbol of his investment with them; but Henry appears as a regular feudal tenant of the Pope. And he might prove in the future a very dangerous tenant indeed, for we must remember that the house of Welf already held Bavaria, was heir to Saxony, and heir-presumptive to the German and Imperial crowns.

But the victorious Kaiser died in Tyrol on his way home in December 1137, and all his South Italian plans proved to have been writ in water. Roger was winning back the mainland before Lothair's back was well turned. Before 1137 was out, Abbot Wibald was writing pitiful letters to his Kaiser, describing what was happening to him and his monks at the hands of the Normans as soon as the German troops had gone north.[3] Anacletus got safely back to Rome and died in January 1138. It is probable that even before Anacletus's death Roger had intimated to some one (perhaps to Bernard himself) that he was willing to be 'con-

[1] Lothair hanged or otherwise killed the whole garrison of the castle of Bari after storming it. It was already being attacked by the people of Bari when the German army arrived.

[2] The Pope so far prevailed that he and the emperor each held one corner of the banner at the ceremony of investment.

[3] *Epistolæ Wibaldi*, Letter 1, 2, in Migne, vol. clxxxix. As a matter of fact, Wibald ran away himself, and was already taking steps to get a new abbot put in his place.

verted,' or at least to 'listen to the arguments' of rival popes; Naples and Capua were worth several masses to him, as Paris was to be in later days to Henry IV. So Roger made great play about keeping an open mind, and declared that he would consult his Sicilian clergy. After Anacletus's death he even allowed another momentary antipope to be set up; in fact the Pierleoni faction in Rome had given way some time before Roger, and Innocent, now back in Rome, actually excommunicated the King of Sicily once more. At first Roger showed politic mercy to his Apulian rebels; but Naples and Bari were the last places to submit, and then there was no need to strain the quality of mercy too far. Thereupon Innocent was mad enough to attack Roger on his own account; Roger beat his troops to pieces at San Germano in July 1139, and then, as the fable ran of his predecessors in 1053, knelt to his captive and received from him full investiture with Southern Italy as a fief of the Church,[1] without a word spoken of imperial rights. St Bernard had already gone and talked to the Romans, as he had talked to the Milanese, and it was he who had won them over to Innocent and prevented a continuance of the schism. As for Roger, when once he was reconciled, Bernard, with noble inconsistency, welcomed him back to the fold and wrote him letters of praise and affection; and the politic king (whose private opinion of Bernard and Bernardism it would be interesting to have ascertained) invited the good saint to send him Cistercian monks, and proceeded to found Cistercian monasteries.[2]

Lothair, then, in his later years had distinctly failed to come up to the standard of obedience to the Church required from a 'parsons'-kaiser'; directly he had become at all powerful he had shown symptoms of revolt.

[1] It was then that Roger's northern frontier was fixed at the Garigliano; there was a subsequent rectification of this, taking it to the sea between Gaeta and Terracina, in 1144. The popes kept the city and county of Benevento.

[2] 'Sic itur ad astra,' wrote Bernard to Roger in 1139 (*i.e.*, by receiving monks). *Cf.* Letters 207, 208, 209.

The next German king, therefore, must not be too powerful. The lay princes thought the same. Lothair's destined successor was his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, recently made Margrave of Tuscany and now, by Lothair's death, Duke of Saxony also. He must clearly be rejected for the same reason that Frederick of Hohenstaufen had been rejected twelve years before.[1] Mainz and Cologne happened to be vacant, and so the strings at the election in March 1138 were pulled by the adventurous Adalbero, Archbishop of Trier, a Frenchman by birth, a strong Gregorian by interest if not by persuasion, and recently created papal legate. This man hurried on an election at Coblentz without any of the usual forms (7th March 1138).

The lately despised Conrad of Hohenstaufen appeared to satisfy the required tests; his own not extensive lands were in Eastern Franconia; he had purged his contempt by his submission to Lothair in 1135. According to Godfrey of Viterbo[2] Conrad was

'like Paris handsome, and like Hector brave,'

also 'like Seneca wise.' That last he certainly was not; he was a brave, stirring, honest, blundering fellow, without any of the qualifications of a ruler, and showed himself only too greedy of a crown upon any conditions. Giesebrecht, who has a tenderness for him, rightly points out that in knightly ideas and love of adventure, he was in no way an unworthy member of his high-spirited family.[3] He seems to have been elected only by the Swabians and Franconians, although Henry of Bavaria soon[4] professed himself ready to agree, and after some fuss handed over the *insignia* of the Reich to Conrad. Natur-

[1] See Otto Freis., *Gesta*, i., 23: 'His well-known pride had brought on him the hatred of all who had been in his company on Lothair's expedition to Italy.'

[2] *Pantheon seu Universitatis libri qui Chronici appellantur*, 23 c. 51, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cxcviii., 989.

[3] Giesebrecht, iv., 197-198.

[4] Not at once; he did not attend Conrad's first diet, whereat nearly all other German princes did homage.

ally enough, however, he demanded his Duchy of Saxony, and the inevitable civil war began when Conrad presented this duchy to Albert the Bear of the Ascanian house, who had already in 1134 been invested with the Nordmark, the germ of the future Brandenburg.[1] Conrad went on to deprive the Welfs of Bavaria also, and to give this duchy to the Babenberg Margrave of Austria.

A really powerful king at the end of a long and victorious reign could hardly have ventured on such a series of confiscations as those with which poor Conrad began his term of office.[2] Had Henry of Bavaria lived beyond 1139, he would probably have sent Conrad flying as he quickly sent Albert. But he died in the October of that year, aged thirty-five, and Saxony rallied as one man to his nine-year-old son, Henry the Lion. Lion and Bear then began a feud which ended only with their long lives. Nor could the Babenberger at first get Bavaria,[3] which was grabbed by the late Henry's brother

[1] Albert calls himself *Marchio Brandenburgensis* as early as 1136, and evidently regards his territory on both sides of the Elbe as one government by the year 1150 (G. Richter, *Zeittafeln*, Halle, 1881, p. 93). Albert was, indeed, son-in-law of the last Billung, which might seem to give him some claim to Saxony.

[2] Few newly crowned kings have been greeted with such a letter as that which Bernard in 1139 (Letter 183) sent to Conrad: 'You are wrong in supposing that I have any personal objection to you. I am extremely devoted to the Empire, and its ruler's griefs are my griefs. But I advise you to observe the greatest reverence to the Pope if you wish to keep your seat. There are some things which I do not think fit to write to you; perhaps I will tell you of them when we meet.' In this same year, and to the Pope to whom he was here referring, Innocent, Bernard wrote (Letter 213) 'who will do me justice against you? If I had a judge before whom I could drag you I would soon show you what you deserve. I have written to you before on this matter [concerning the reconciliation of a schismatic to the Church] but, as you did not answer, I suppose you did not get my letter.' Much information on the reign of Conrad is got from the Letters of Wibald, Abbot of Stablo (1130), of Monte-Cassino (1137), of Corvey (1146 till his death in 1158). They are in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. clxxxix.

[3] He got it after Welf's defeat at Weinsberg in 1140. It was at the surrender of Weinsberg that Conrad told the women they

Welf (the sixth duke of that name). Even the Hohenstaufen house was divided, young Frederick, the future Kaiser Barbarossa, supporting the Bavarian claims of Welf against his uncle Conrad and the Babenbergers. A temporary 'agreement all round' was reached in 1142 by the Peace of Frankfort; Albert gave up his claims on the Saxon Duchy, which went to little Henry, soon to be called 'the Lion'; Bavaria was confirmed to the Babenberger Henry Jasomirgott (so called from his favourite oath?), brother of the late Margrave Leopold, and this Henry now married Gertrude, widow of Henry the Proud, and mother of Henry the Lion. Conrad was so pleased with the peace that he defrayed all the expenses of this reconciliatory wedding. Duke Welf, however, who was thus left in the cold, naturally protested and soon got to his natural business of civil strife again. These feuds become infinitely tiresome; not even the churchmen liked them, and early divined that this new king of theirs was not the sort of man to be let loose on Italy. Many North Italians, indeed, resorted to Conrad's court, and got privileges given to them; but Rome itself maintained a somewhat ominous indifference to him. Indeed, Conrad had every right to complain when Innocent II. made his treaty with Roger in 1139, as if there was no such thing as an imperial power to be considered at all. It was this attitude of the Pope which no doubt led Conrad to the Greek alliance.

Conrad was indeed more consistent in this, the one foreign connection which he really formed, than in German or Italian politics, for the Greek alliance was from the first directed against Roger of Sicily. It was concluded first with John Comnenus[1] (1118-1143), and then with Manuel his son (1143-1180); Manuel Comnenus became

might have whatever they could carry away; they carried away their own husbands (*Annales Colonienses Maximi*, *sub anno* 1140, in Pertz, *Mon.*, *Scriptores*, xvii.). A similar story is told of other sieges; it was a common condition to allow 'whatever you can carry' to a beaten garrison. See Giesebrecht, iv., 464.

[1] See Otto Freis., *Gesta*, i. 24.

Conrad's brother-in-law,[1] and, in spite of a good deal of treachery at the date of the disastrous Crusade of 1147, remained his friend to the end of Conrad's life. Against them Welf, always claiming Bavaria, made a close alliance with Roger, who in fact paid him heavy bribes to keep Conrad so busy in Germany that he would not be able to come to Italy. Conrad was thus always planning Italian expeditions which never came off, and he was never crowned Emperor.

The condition of Italy at this date may for the moment be treated apart. It is quite clear that it was the commerce with the East, resulting from the occupation of the sea-coast of Palestine in the Crusades, that led to her rapid development in the twelfth century, the age of the beginning of the Italian Communes. Now we do not know, and it is not probable that we shall ever know, the internal history of the Italian municipalities since the sixth century.[2] There are five hundred years of silence, and we have no real idea how Gothic and Lombard law affected Roman law, or how Roman law affected them. The only thing of which we can be sure is that in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the bishops generally acted as 'Counts' or representatives of the vague power asserted by the Caroling and Saxon emperors, and we can with some confidence guess that they administered or tried to administer Roman law. On the other hand there appear some sort of assessors to these bishop-counts, assessors who are more likely to be of Lombard origin than to have any connection with the old *curiales;* no contemporary Latin or Italian name is forthcoming for these men, and we fall back upon the word in use in Gaul, *scabini* (French *échevins*). Such men might easily come into conflict, as

[1] He married Bertha of Sulzbach, sister of Conrad's queen.

[2] This and my earlier volume will have been written quite in vain, if I do not succeed in making clear to my readers that the question of the continuity of city life, and of municipal institutions from Roman times till the twelfth century is *the* unsolved, and apparently insoluble, problem of mediæval history in all Western European countries.

civic self-consciousness began to arise, with the bishop-counts, and with them the smaller nobles living in the near vicinity of the city, or in the city itself, would probably combine.

But then the bishops would turn to the greater nobles, men perhaps planted by Caroling, Saxon, or Salian emperors as margraves; and it is only when *échevins* acting together with little nobles have beaten bishops acting together with big nobles that a real *commune* comes into being; when it does we shall probably find that at least some of the big nobles have been won over to the side of the citizens. Then out of the triple order of big nobles, little nobles, and citizens arises a government by annually elected 'Consuls.' Something of this kind at least appears to have taken place in Milan, whose early history is a little less dark than that of other communes.[1] There is no reason to suppose any uniformity in the grouping of the classes. Now the commerce resulting from the Crusades would act upon this state of things, by enriching rapidly a comparatively small number of the citizens, and providing work for the poorer class as well. The person who is wholly thrust aside seems to be the bishop-count, and with him the emperor, whose representative he had been, looks very like being thrust aside also. The consuls may vary in number, but they act both as judges in peace and as leaders in war; they are assisted by a council often called the *credenza*, sometimes divided into a greater and lesser council; and in the

[1] A celebrated passage in Otto of Freising (*Gesta*, ii., 13) confirms this view: 'The cities had compelled the country nobles to join them; there was scarcely any noble who did not follow the rule of his city; and, in order that they might not lack means of coercing their neighbours, they had made soldiers even of artisans exercising contemptible mechanical trades, men whom other nations drive away like the plague from the more honourable and liberal arts. Hence it is that they exceed all other states of the world in riches and power'—a bad piece of logic on the good bishop's part. In the same chapter Otto shows that Lombardy was already again (if indeed it had ever ceased to be) the garden of Europe; he speaks of its vineyards and oliveyards, its chestnut trees and fig trees.

last resort, perhaps when war is declared, there is a *parlamento* or assembly of the whole male population in the public square at the voice of the town-bell jangling from some high tower. To 'ring for a parliament' became the regular method of starting a revolution in fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Italy. The bare possibility remains that the *échevins* were really the descendants of the *decuriones* of imperial times.

Such, roughly, was the condition of the cities of Lombardy, and probably of Romagna also, though there we hear occasionally of another official called a *Podestà* (*Potestas*), entrusted with the administration of justice. We do not know how Henry IV. treated the germs of these civic constitutions, which must have been budding in his time; once we have a small league of cities against him (1093-1097), but the Lombard nobles and bishops, being more usually hostile to the popes were, at least till Urban II.'s reign, inclined to favour the Empire. Nor do we know how, with one or two exceptions, Henry V. treated the cities; we know, however, that in the period 1154-1176, they repeatedly referred to his reign as a golden age. It seems probable, then, that he exacted from them only supplies in kind on his expeditions to Rome; this was later known as *fodrum*, and was no doubt converted into a money payment. In the weak reigns of Lothair and Conrad the cities must have grown in riches, self-consciousness, and military power. For they were often at war with each other, and Milan lived by bullying the smaller communes.

In the rest of Italy, wherever there was a more powerful lay government, the towns may very well have been growing rich without any marked municipal development; but wherever such government was overthrown, as, for instance, in Tuscany after the death of Matilda, a similar municipal development would follow either at once or by degrees.

The maritime cities—Pisa, Genoa, Ancona, and Venice—whose commerce had been the main factor in developing the communal spirit in the non-maritime, each had its own manifestation of the same spirit; but in Venice there

was added the stable, and as yet effective, headship of a Duke or Doge. These cities also were generally at bitter rivalry with each other; but they possessed this advantage that, if they did not wish to 'lend' their fleets to the emperor, there was no means of making them do so. If the imperial power had been a real thing, it could have fixed a feudal quota of ships to be furnished from these cities, as the English kings did from the Cinque Ports.[1] The most un-governed and most turbulent city of all was Rome; but it, too, as we shall presently see, had its fling for self-government.

As for Sicily and the southern mainland, after Lothair's brief raids, they rapidly attained a very high level of prosperity, and the ambition of the kings, a feature which is not always conducive to the riches of peoples, favoured this prosperity. The conquest of Africa and the throne of Justinian were not objects too great for Roger II., the grandson of a poor Cotentin baron, to aim at. His court and his administration, largely in the hands of Moslem servants, were deliberately copied from Constantinople; his exchequer is thought by some to have set the pattern to our own. His city of Palermo was after Constantinople (and perhaps after Cordova) the richest in Europe; its Emir was almost the second person of importance in the kingdom. His church was a deliberate copy of the Erastian Church of the Eastern Empire; for the island at least he was his own papal legate, and, though no pope quite accepted the position, Roger managed in practice to extend his legatine powers to his dominions on the mainland also.[2] He created new dioceses, he nominated

[1] True, Genoa once pleads to Kaiser Frederick I. that, if he exacts such and such taxes from her, she will not be able to serve him with her fleet.

[2] See John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, vii., 19, ed. Webb, vol. ii., p. 173. In his *Historia Pontificalis* (Pertz, *Scriptores*, xx., 538) John says that Roger was no simoniac, that he did make good ecclesiastical appointments and, except that his bishops were not all properly consecrated, they were good Catholics. Many of the Sicilian prelates were in fact foreigners. Roger kept only Germans at arms-length; 'he could not bear the barbarity of the Germans.'

bishops, he refused to allow appeals to Rome; popes kicked, of course, but Roger held the interior lines of strategy. He probably did not mean it when he threatened to carry his Church and State over to the obedience of the Eastern patriarchate; but he could and did give to, or withhold from, popes, according as they behaved themselves or not, the invaluable aid of his army against the ever-insurgent Roman nobles. He withheld it from Innocent in the latter's great need in 1141 and 1143; he gave it to Eugenius III., whom he reinstalled in the Lateran in 1149. His kingdom was divided into administrative provinces, each governed by a justiciar. The law of his 'Assizes,' promulgated soon after 1140, shows distinct traces of the principles of Roman Law. Latin, Greek, and Arabic were all official languages in his dominions, though each had its peculiar geographical sphere. Feudalism, though by no means yet (indeed never) subdued on the mainland, found itself on the island confined within the limits of a real parliament, in which sat both lay and spiritual peers. More than once in his charters Roger speaks of himself as Siciliæ *et Italiæ* Rex; happy would it have been for Italy if the latter title could have been made good.

The study of Roman Law was now being seriously revived in Italy. The fable that Lothair got hold of a copy of the *Corpus Juris*, as a result of the Pisan sack of Amalfi, is only found two centuries later; the first great Bolognese Doctor of Laws, Irnerius, had been an adviser of Henry V., and probably died in Lothair's reign, and his comments upon the *Corpus Juris* were very considerable. The real difficulty, for any emperor desirous of basing his power on Roman Law and reasserting it in Italy, would arise from the total absence from that law of any such concept as a fief; yet much of Italy was supposed to be parcelled out in fiefs, each owing some sort of feudal service to the emperor. A further difficulty was introduced by the claim that the clergy were amenable to Canon Law alone, which claim was now being vigorously pushed. Bologna was a school of Canon Law, as well as of Roman Law; and in

Conrad III.'s reign (about 1142) the monk Gratian of Bologna compiled his *Decretum*, otherwise called *Concordantia Discordantium Canonum*,[1] accepting the Donation of Constantine as its basis. The *Decretum* is a 'text-book rather than a code'; but it obtained almost the authority of a code, and its students and practitioners soon came to rival in numbers and devotion the Irnerian students of the *Corpus Juris*. It seems then that the reassertion of the Imperial power in Italy would be a very difficult task, if a basis for that reassertion were sought in Roman Law, and it certainly would be no easy task in the sphere of 'practical politics.' Yet I think it would be a great mistake to consider that Italy as a whole was hostile to the idea of the Empire; vague as it was, that name connected her with her glorious past; moreover, it was her only protector against something which most reasonable Italians dreaded much more—the dominion of the priests. 'Omni clericorum remoto obstaculo' was occasionally the ideal even of the Romans, for instance in their letter to Conrad inviting him to Rome in 1149;[2] 'indebitum clericorum excussurus jugum' was what they prayed the next Kaiser might prove to be; instances of similar prayers from other parts of Italy might be multiplied *ad libitum* throughout the centuries. But, *bien-entendu*, neither must this Empire become too strong, nor an efficient reality; let it remain a 'concept'; and then, in the ceaseless clash between it and the Papacy, the practically-minded Italians would find practical independence.

Innocent II. was still Pope when Conrad was elected German King, and he lived till September 1143; once reconciled to Roger, he had honourably kept at peace with him. The next two popes, Cœlestine II. who reigned only five months (1143-1144), and Lucius II. (1144-1145) were less prudent. Rome, as I have already said, had got no share of the trade and manufacture stimulated by the Crusades; its ports were in ruins, its

[1] Continual additions to this were made, and it was codified by Pope Gregory IX. in the thirteenth century.

[2] Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, i., 29.

Campagna a fever- and brigand-haunted waste. But to some extent it became the money-market, the 'clearing house' of commercial transactions; the Jewish family of the Pierleonis is an early example of great Roman money-lenders. If the city had none of the *échevin* class and few of the 'small noble' class, it had a fierce militia divided into *scholæ*, and a few great civic nobles with family connections among the brigands of the surrounding district. Such men were always to the fore at the elections of prefects—for this office seems now to have become elective—and still more so at the elections of popes. We do not know the exact date at which the example of the northern communes, who had shaken off their bishops, began to influence the Romans in their wish to go and do likewise; but the schism, purely Roman in origin, between Innocent and Anacletus no doubt cleared the ground for the movement of revolt, which we find in full swing in 1142-1145. As was natural in a city with such a history, something more than a 'Commune' was demanded, and the 'Roman Republic' was proclaimed in 1143. It seems to have been distinctly a victory of the captains of the militia over the great nobles; although the one great noble who took the popular side, Jordan Pierleoni, brother of the Antipope Anacletus, was proclaimed *Patricius*. Doubtless, however, the thing that fastened itself most upon men's imaginations was the revival of the Senate,[1] which was henceforth to sit in the Capitol! The next Pope but one, Lucius II. was actually killed in an attack upon this venerable fortress. The office of Prefect, which had too imperial a sound, was abolished, and letters were again written in the name of *Senatus Populusque Romanus*. To this ambitious body, which had already written a grandiloquent and patronising letter to Conrad, came in 1145 the celebrated agitator, Arnold of Brescia. He had

[1] This Senate seems to have contained fifty-six members, perhaps four for each of the fourteen 'regions' of Rome. The nobles, many of whom were banished, indemnified themselves by grabbing much papal property in the neighbourhood of the city. This, naturally, did not dispose the popes favourably towards the new power.

been a pupil of Abélard at Paris, and very possibly had heard the abortive discussion at the Council of Sens (1140) between him and St Bernard. Certainly St Bernard detested them equally, and lumped them together as 'heretics.'[1] Pope Innocent fully agreed with him, and the wonder is that they did not proceed against Arnold at once. Yet after this we find Arnold teaching in Paris till Louis VII. banished him, then retiring to Zürich, where, still more strangely, a papal legate protected him and took him with him to Italy in 1145. There Arnold seems to have done some sort of penance at the order of the new Pope, Eugenius III., and to have kept clear of politics till Eugenius fled, as he soon had to do, to France.

Eugenius is the 'Cistercian Pope,' once Vicar of the see of Pisa, then the pupil of Bernard at Clairvaux, and afterwards Abbot of Tre Fontane, near Rome. The cardinals, in electing one not of their own College, unquestionably sought to please the Dictator of Christendom. But the Dictator was either not pleased at all, or ill at ease. His two hundred and thirty-seventh Letter (to the cardinals, in 1145, on the election of Eugenius) is a document of surpassing interest, in which we see his own piety, and his joy at the preference shown to his Order by the choice, struggling with his knowledge of his friend's unfitness, and with his fear at the perils to which Eugenius's soul would be exposed.[2] To Eugenius himself the Saint writes with utmost kindness: 'May your hands be on the neck of your enemies; your life will be short, like that of

[1] 'Abélard was Goliath and Arnold was his squire; they cried to all the hosts of Israel and Philistia, because they knew there was no David in the former' (St Bernard, Letter 187; *cf.* also, Letters 190-195 on the same subject). The names that Bernard calls these two heresiarchs seem to outdo the language reasonably permissible even to a saint. In Letter 243 (*anno* 1146) he administers a terrific scolding to the Roman Republic. For Abélard's history, *vide infra*, pp. 266-7.

[2] It may perhaps be condensed thus: 'Why did you elect a man who couldn't even sustain the weight of the Pisan stewardship to the dominion of the whole Church? Is he, a rustic and a ragged (or ? shrivelled) little man (*pannosus homuncio*), one fit to bind their kings in chains? to rule over bishops and dispose of empires? . . .

all popes, so be up and doing.'[1] There are many other letters of Bernard's to him, often remonstrating with him on his preferments of unworthy persons,[2] and the best known of all the Saint's works is the tract, *De Consideratione*, written in his last years, and directly addressed to Eugenius.[3] In this tract Bernard pours out his whole soul on the corruption of the worldly Church, and especially of the Court of Appeal at Rome. For once a Pope shall hear the naked truth; 'I know you value money no more than chaff, and that you, unlike all other popes I have known, are no respecter of persons. But your courtiers are, and your judges are, respecters of persons, and they drag you down with them. They multiply appeals and they ruin the defendants in them (for these, even if they get judgment, get no costs, not even their travelling expenses); they multiply exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction; they pile benefices upon the heads of children and laymen. Your legates are not much better; I have only known two legates who refused bribes; one once refused a horse, and the other actually refused a fine sturgeon.'

When Eugenius first fled from Rome, Arnold stepped forward as the life and soul of the new Roman Republic. Now Arnold's three main heresies must have been most distinctly displeasing to any pope; for in brief they were freedom of thought, the reduction of the clergy to apostolic poverty, and the supremacy of State over Church. In theory, at least, Bernard was as keen as Arnold on the second of these points; but it did not prevent him from hating the demagogue who preached it, especially when

Well, it is either ridiculous, or a miracle. . . . I do not deny that David was chosen much in the same way; but I am not happy about it; his is a tender nature, used to retirement.' It must be confessed that Bernard's anxiety was not without justification; there is an unpleasant selfishness about Eugenius, a mixture of pliancy and bullying, to which the honest worldliness of Innocent II. and the stubborn *hauteur* of Hadrian IV. are greatly preferable.

[1] Letter 238. [2] Letter 248.

[3] Begun 1149, finished 1152; a translation has been published by the Clarendon Press in the 'Oxford Library of Translations.'

that demagogue proposed to the Romans to re-create their *Ordo Equestris* and to fortify the Capitol. Eugenius, in order to get to Rome at all, had been obliged to make some sort of terms with the Senate, which did after all put upon its coins the effigy of St Peter as *Princeps Romanorum* (side by side with the legend S.P.Q.R.); but he soon had to fly again, and to his chagrin found St Bernard more keen on preaching the Second Crusade through France and Germany, than in stirring up any secular power to champion the cause of him, Eugenius, against Arnold and the Roman Senate. Arnold, then, had to be left to orate in peace in Rome until a stronger pope and a stronger Kaiser came to deal with him; whether or not he approved of the destruction of the rival city of Tivoli by the new Roman Republic we do not know; but he certainly seems, at least once, to have invited Conrad to come to Rome, and was probably disgusted when Conrad (who knew that, after all, it needed a pope to crown an emperor) left the letters long unanswered and then snubbed the writers. Once Eugenius got the help of Roger of Sicily to restore him to Rome (1149), but all the time he was denouncing Roger to Conrad, and secretly squealing to Conrad to come; the latter would probably have come, if death had not interrupted his plans in 1152.[1]

Eugenius and Roger had at least one interest in common; each dreaded the new and unnatural alliance between the Western and Eastern emperors, Conrad and Manuel. From every other point of view Roger's career of success was a horrible portent both to pope and Western emperor. To destroy or to annex the Sicilian kingdom became an object of the first importance to each. And luck as well as craft was repeatedly needed to save that kingdom. All Norman exiles were welcomed at the Hohenstaufen court, and Roger's best chance, which he fully used, was to keep alive the civil war in Germany by subsidising Conrad's rival, the greedy Welf, claimant to

[1] See the Letters of Wibald to Manuel (Letter 320), Manuel to Wibald (321), Conrad to the Romans (322), Conrad to Eugenius (323), Conrad to Pisa (324)—all in the year 1151.

the Duchy of Bavaria. The Second Crusade was another stroke of luck for Roger. He covered the sea with his fleets, nominally with sacred, really with commercial objects. He acted as broker for the gallant French king, who wanted to go East on Sicilian ships, and who, but for Conrad, would have certainly used Roger's fleet. And while the disastrous expedition went on, Roger delivered his first open attack on the Greek Empire; he took Corfu, ravaged Hellas, and penetrated to Thebes (then a great silk manufactory!), brought silk weavers to Sicily, and captured Corinth. In 1149 the Sicilian fleet actually entered the Bosphorus and insulted Manuel's capital. No wonder that Manuel sent repeated entreaties to Conrad to invade Italy. Several of the Crusaders visited Roger on their return, among them Louis VII., in the most friendly fashion, and to Louis Roger was able to say, with much truth, 'You were betrayed by those rascally Greeks; let us unite to crush them, and then drive out the Moslem from the Holy Land.' Louis's best adviser, Suger, and even St Bernard, thought the same; but Conrad stupidly clung to the Greek alliance. Stupidly, indeed, and it was stupider of his successor Frederick I. to follow, for a time, the same phantom; for what fruit could that alliance bear? Manuel meant nothing less than a reconquest of Italy after the manner of Justinian; but no Western emperor could have tolerated a Greek getting an acre of Italian soil. One unfortunate result Roger's open attack on Manuel had; it obliged him to withdraw from prosecuting his African conquests. His great Admiral, George of Antioch, had been steadily pushing these conquests for many years, and in 1146 had taken Tripoli, and in 1148 El Medeah; that is to say, the Sicilians held a strip of the coast from Tunis to Tripoli, reaching inland as far as Kirwan; it formed a rich *entrepôt* for commerce. Roger died in the height of his prosperity and glory in 1154, and his son William, to whom the Sicilian chronicler, Hugh Falcandus, gave, without much reason, the name of 'the Bad,' reigned in his stead.

This digression has carried us somewhat beyond the

date of 1147. Long had Germany resisted the voice of Bernard, whether it was directed to the purification and desecularisation of its Church, or to the more immediate relief of our brethren in the Holy Land after the fall of Edessa. The Saint's eloquence could almost storm the gates of Heaven, but not the stubborn German hearts. Duke Welf was only thinking how he could get back Bavaria from the Babenberger; young Frederick, soon (1147) to be Duke of Swabia, was cursing his uncle-king's feeble policy, which seemed to be ruining the Hohenstaufen house; Albert the Bear and young Henry the Lion, while growling fiercely at each other, were equally pushing German arms and ploughs towards the Oder and the Baltic, Conrad of course favouring the Bear against the Lion; Conrad himself was busy with an unsuccessful war with Poland; the Austrian Babenbergers were, as usual, fighting the Hungarians. But at Christmas 1146 Bernard appeared at Speyer, and, partly by threats, partly by daring prophecies (which prove how utterly sincere he was, for he staked all his reputation[1] on them), compelled Conrad to take the Cross. Conrad actually excused himself in a letter to the Pope for yielding to the

[1] Not wholly unquestioned. According to Nitzsch (ii., 223) Gerhoh of Reichersperg had doubted Bernard's miraculous powers; Adolf, Count of Holstein, travelled to Frankfurt in 1146 to investigate his alleged miracles. I have not been able to find on what authority Nitzsch relied in making the former statement; perhaps on a passage in the *De Investigatione Antichristi* (*Libelli de Lite*, iii., 383). The matter is of such extreme interest that I quote the passage in full: 'Quod ipse vidi oculis meis, fictionem vero miraculorum, *cui assignem ignoro*, utrumnam his, per quos fieri dicebantur, an vero his, a quibus petebantur, certum non habeo, cum tamen fictio ipsa certissime in multis sit prodita;' and Gerhoh goes on to mention some of the alleged miracles. Now the objection may naturally, and I think should, be made that what Gerhoh wrote in 1162 is no evidence of what he thought sixteen years before. But Nitzsch very seldom makes statements without good authority, and the journey of Adolf II. of Holstein to Frankfurt and his scepticism is mentioned by Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 114; Adolf actually saw Bernard heal a blind and lame boy, but the good pastor does not tell us whether he believed or no. For Map's celebrated story of Bernard's failure to work miracles, *vide infra*, p. 260, *note*.

sudden impulse without having asked his advice.[1] A wave of devotion spread over Germany, and reached even Duke Welf who took the Cross with the rest; it is then that Otto of Freising says:[2] 'So great was the impression of a new age that it was held wicked not only to quarrel but even to carry arms.' Young Henry the Lion alone resisted the movement; he now came forward to demand, not for his Uncle Welf but for himself, the Duchy of Bavaria; but he was after some difficulty induced to postpone his claim till the return of the Crusaders from the East. The princes of the north and east of Germany honestly said to Bernard: 'We have a crusade of our own afoot, leave us in peace to pursue it,' and the Saint allowed the justice of the plea.[3] Conrad had one success before starting for the East; he got his son Henry, a splendid boy of great promise, elected as joint-king and left him regent, with Abbot Wibald of Corvey to advise him. One cannot, I fear, say that Wibald was particularly efficient either in keeping the peace, or in protecting the German churches against papal aggressions. While the French and German kings and their knights were absent in the East, Pope Eugenius was lording it in France and on the Rhine, disposing of places in the French and German churches at the will of Bernard and of the papalist Archbishop of Trier; they suspended Mainz and Cologne for refusing to attend a papally-summoned council at Rheims in France;[4] they evicted an Abbot of Fulda. But can one fancy Bernard's feelings as rumours of disaster began to reach the West? Or when the whole dreadful news became known? His own noble courage never failed him; he put it all down to the sins of the princes, and told them many home truths on the subject; but it is plain that his heart was more or less broken.

[1] Wibald, Letter 33. [2] *Gesta*, i., 47.

[3] For the story of this crusade, see below, p. 210.

[4] It was at this council that Trier made the amazing demand that his see should be recognised as the metropolitanate of the French and German churches—and made it in the city of the primate of France! Even Eugenius thought this a little too strong.

Duke Welf returned from the Crusade before Conrad, and immediately began to attack the young regent; but soon after Conrad's return he got well beaten at Flochberg in Swabia. Henry the Lion also began in 1150 to press again his claims to Bavaria, and, though he got no support from his uncle Welf, he was able to raise quite a sufficiently serious insurrection on his own account. Still, the Church had been used for many years to put up with, if not to encourage, a series of feuds upon the grand scale, and there was nothing in the prospect of their continuance to cause it any unusual anxiety. But the complete failure of the Crusade was a much more serious matter. It was this which opened men's eyes, and shattered clerical influence in Germany for many years to come. It also shattered whatever prestige poor Conrad had enjoyed (which was not much), and it turned all hearts to the one German prince who had really distinguished himself amid disaster and defeat, Frederick of Swabia; a man, moreover, notoriously keen on healing the feud between his own house and the Welfs.[1] So when Henry, son of Conrad, died, hardly yet a man, in 1151, it was not his own sole surviving son (who was but eight years old), but this good nephew, Frederick, whom Conrad destined for his successor.[2] When the old king died at Bamberg on 15th February 1152, in his fifty-ninth year, Otto of Freising's[3] 'new age' looked like becoming a reality.

[1] Frederick's mother, we remember, was the sister of Henry the Proud, so he was first cousin to Henry the Lion.

[2] Herein, and also in the stormy and unlucky course of his life, Giesebrecht (iv., 363) compares him to Conrad I. (see Vol. I., p. 328).

[3] Otto, born about 1111 (Bishop of Freising, 1138-1158), was a son of the Babenberger Leopold, Margrave of Austria, and of Agnes, widow of Frederick of Swabia, daughter of Henry IV., and so was half-brother of Conrad III., and uncle of the coming Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa; he had studied philosophy at Paris, and is almost too anxious to show his readers that he had read for the School of Litteræ Humaniores, as then and there understood; he had also been a Cistercian monk at Morimund. He wrote his *Chronicle* in a very devout frame of mind (though he was by no means too fond of St Bernard) between 1143 and 1146; he called it *Liber de duabus civitatibus*, i.e., the kingdom of this world and the kingdom of

The election of Frederick took place at Frankfurt unanimously within seventeen days of the death of Conrad. No time was allowed for papal legates to come and play the baleful game they had played in 1125 and 1137-1138.

heaven ; he subsequently continued it to the year 1156, but its spirit was already out of date when he asked Frederick to be allowed to write his *Gesta Frederici*. This he left unfinished at his own death, (1158), and bequeathed its continuation to his friend Ragewin, who took it on till 1160, with a short sketch also of the decade 1160-1170. The *Chronicle* was continued in the Abbey of Saint-Blaise. Otto was not only a prince of royal blood and a prince of the Church, but also a statesman of the first order; it was he who reconciled the Welfs and the Babenbergs in 1157, he who reconciled Frederick and Pope Hadrian in the last year of his own life. Otto's death was followed by the conflagration of Freising city and church, which, according to Ragewin, was accompanied (p. 203) by dreadful portents —among other things hairy men called satyrs were frequently heard in houses. Giesebrecht (vi., 291) is inclined to speak somewhat slightingly of Otto, not as a historian, but as a man ; 'he was essentially a man of compromises.'

ARGUMENT OF CHAPTER V

The reign of FREDERICK I., called Barbarossa, which is covered by this chapter, has more simplicity and unity than any previous period treated in this volume. The emperor's character and aims are simple and straightforward. If his ideal is a somewhat belated one, he is thoroughly minded to do his duty, and is on the whole well supported by the German nation in this effort. It involves him in twenty-five years of almost ceaseless strife with two of the greatest of popes—HADRIAN IV., the only English Pope, and ALEXANDER III., whom I venture to call one of the best popes that ever ruled Western Christendom. It involves him in an almost equally long struggle with the rising spirit of nationality in Italy, exemplified in the resistance of the cities of Lombardy. He ends by making very fair terms with both opponents, but at the end of his life commits what we see now to have been his greatest mistake, the marriage of his heir with the heiress of the Sicilian kingdom. This appeared at the time to be the greatest of triumphs, for it put future popes into the jaws of a nut-cracker; but the very enormity of the danger gave them courage to resist within a very few years, and would have made their resistance immediately effective but for the necessity of the Third Crusade. When, soon after our period, the Papacy gathered force again, German anarchy came again to its rescue, and the final fall of the Romano-German Empire in 1250 was the result. In Germany itself the results of Frederick's reign were almost wholly good; he healed for many years the feud between his house and the Welfs, giving, indeed, too free a hand to his Welf cousin, Henry the Lion (of Saxony and Bavaria), in the north and east; and in the end this Henry, who had made himself intolerable to all other North Germans, had to be driven into exile; this led to a revival of the feud in the next generation. Frederick also kept his frontiers in excellent order, and under him Bohemia, though as yet a purely Slav state, begins to enter regularly into German civilisation; he kept, on the whole, fairly good friends with the rapidly growing power of the French monarchy of Louis VII. and Philip II.; and he did much more internal governing of Germany than any of his

predecessors since Conrad II. In Italy the Sicilian kingdom, under WILLIAM I. (the Bad) and II. (the Good), maintains, in the face of severe shocks, the solid and independent character stamped upon it by Roger II.; it maintains also its rooted hostility to the Eastern Empire almost to the end of the period. But the Hohenstaufen marriage of 1186 is even more fatal to it than to Germany. Venice, owing to the folly of Manuel Comnenus, breaks off its long alliance with the Eastern Empire, and only awaits the day when she can, in the Fourth Crusade (1204), take vengeance on Constantinople; Florence has been steadily rising to a position of importance during the twelfth century, and is already a manufacturing and banking city; Milan retains the lead in Lombardy, but the Lombard cities quarrel desperately among themselves. Pisa and Genoa, both already rivals of Venice, are still more bitter rivals of each other, and fight out their quarrels in all Mediterranean waters. Rome, with the exception of a little banking business, is sunk in barbarous ignorance and feuds; it has never recovered the Norman sack of 1085. But Alexander's capital is as moveable as that of Urban II.; *ubi Papa ibi Roma*, and the wise kings of France gain much esteem from welcoming exiled popes. The trade of Europe with the East is increasing rapidly, and moves *pari passu* with the Renaissance in thought, poetry, and art. Some of it now really begins to move through German channels, and the cities of the Upper Danube and Rhine valleys date their prosperity from this century; Cologne towers above them all, and is probably the richest city north of the Alps. Before the century is out the Church is powerful enough to confine thought at least within some sort of bounds; in the next century it will define these bounds very narrowly. The crusade against heresy, which is to extinguish the civilisation of Southern France early in that century, is foreshadowed at the Lateran Council of 1179.

For the genealogical tables of the rulers of Germany, Italy, Flanders, Lorraine, and Sicily, see Tables to Chapter I.

TABLE I.—CONTEMPORARY POPES, 1152 to 1190.

Eugenius III. (last of St Bernard's popes)	1145 to 1153
Anastasius IV. (stop-gap)	1153 „ 1154
HADRIAN IV. (the Englishman, Frederick Barbarossa's first dangerous Pope)	1154 „ 1159
ALEXANDER III. (best of popes), [Antipope Victor IV., 1159-1164, and three other unimportant ones, 1164-1177]	1159 „ 1181
Lucius III.	1181 „ 1185
Urban III. (renewed quarrel with Empire)	1185 „ 1187
Gregory VIII. } Popes of Third Crusade	1187
Clement III. }	1187 „ 1191

TABLE II.—CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE, 1152-1190.

MANUEL Comnenus,
1143-1180.

Alexius II., 1180-1183.	Andronicus, descended from Alexius I., 1183-1185.	Isaac Angelus, usurper, 1185-1195.

TABLE III.—CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

Stephen, 1135-1154.	Henry II., 1154-1189.	Richard I., 1189-1199.

CHAPTER V

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, 1152-1190

MANY of my readers may be familiar with Carlyle's fine sketch of Kaiser Barbarossa, 'a magnificent, magnanimous man holding the reins of the world, not quite in the imaginary sense; scourging anarchy down, and urging noble effort up, really on a grand scale,'[1] and so on. Alas, the good Kaiser's grip upon those reins was even more imaginary than Carlyle perceived. The whole story of the reign shows to us an example of the potency of imagination, of the noble *Schwärmerei* of a heroic soul struggling to realise dreams for the realisation of which the time has gone by. Other nations, based upon narrower and more practical foundations, perceived this. John of Salisbury was in attendance on the Pope when Frederick's ambassadors came to him, and he was astonished at the lofty way in which they said that all the world must now be made to submit to the Empire, 'which will be easy if the Pope will help.' A few years later, when Frederick was holding a great church council to force an antipope down the throats of unwilling nations, and referring to the example of his 'predecessors, Constantine and Justinian,' John snarls out, 'who put the Germans up to be judges of all other peoples?'[2]

For Germany, indeed, it was to be a great age; the

[1] *History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great*, Book II., chap. v.

[2] *Johannis Sarisberiensis Epistolæ*, Letter 59, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. cxcix.

Germans did catch something of the spirit of their hero-king; though the German bishops were still, as a whole, more intent on cultivating their estates than on cultivating literature, the national self-consciousness was showing itself in the development of architecture, of poetry, and of poetical history-writing; myths grew up about the heroes even of the recent past, and about the year 1146 Henry II.'s life was written as that of a canonised saint. The first history of Germany in the native tongue, the rhyming *Kaiser-Chronik*, had just been completed (1150 or 1151). As Giesebrecht remarks[1] its spirit is wholly lay, though it was no doubt written by a clerk; popes, when they are mentioned, play a very secondary part in it, and the name of Gregory VII. is not mentioned at all! The coming age was also, I think, to be a happier one; I don't say, with K. W. Nitzsch, there had been 'priestly tyranny' in Germany during the last thirty years; but the ascendancy of clerical ideas had been very much marked, especially during Bernard's time, and the laymen shook their shoulders with some relief now that he was gone.[2] If we look back reflectively over the past fifty-three years, we shall realise that since the death of Urban II. there had only been one pope, who by any stretch of flattery could be called a great man, and he, Calixtus II., had been pope for barely four years. Yet in the hands of such men as Paschal, Honorius, Innocent, and Eugenius, not to speak of Calixtus himself, the Papacy had attained a commanding lead in European affairs, a lead that would almost have satisfied Urban or Gregory himself. Not only had each Pope put on at his accession the trappings of a temporal prince,[3] not only did he appear in public with the magnificence of a temporal king, but his

[1] iv., 376.

[2] Bernard died in 1153 in his cell at Clairvaux, aged sixty-three.

[3] The first 'coronation' of which the details have come down to us was that of Paschal II. in 1099, but there is a contemporary reference to the concrete crown of Nicholas II. in 1059 (see Gregorovius, v., 8 *sqq.*). Traditionally it was Nicholas I. in the ninth century who was the first crowned pope. From the twelfth century the ceremony of coronation became quite regular.

cardinals also now began to act as his ministers of state, as his great council, and as the judges in his law court—just as the great officers and great tenants-in-chief of a King of France acted. More than this, it was in the first half of the twelfth century that Rome became the Court of Appeal for all the Western world, and it was in the same period that the Papacy got for itself, in the new orders of monks and canons-regular, a militia of unrivalled energy, which would act as a papal garrison in every country in the Latin obedience. At no time, then, had the pretensions of the see of Rome been so high, at no time had they so directly thwarted the rising spirit of nationalities; and it is the highest tribute to Bernard's greatness that he, who, as we have seen, hated the worldly spirit in which the popes more commonly than not made use of their vast power, was able to maintain his creature-popes as supreme judges of Western Christendom, and to make men believe in them as a glorious ideal. The first great blow to this ideal was the failure of his crusade, and the first country to realise the failure and to profit by it was Germany.

The men of the future in that country like the Chancellor, Reginald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne, and Christian soon to be Archbishop of Mainz, were not anti-clerical or anti-Roman, but they did want Germany to control, and not be controlled by, the Papacy. Reginald, though he held his archbishopric while only in deacon's orders, was a man of great piety and very highly educated; he was the younger son of a Lower-Saxon count, and had, like Otto of Freising, been a student in Paris. Otto of Freising in his later years passed through very much the same phase of thought as he. The reconciling of German feuds in order to make Germany supreme in Europe was their great idea. The correspondence of Frederick with Abbot Wibald of Corvey [1] is astonishingly modern, friendly, and free-spoken. Frederick himself is

[1] In Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. clxxxix. See especially Letters 359, 366 (of the year 1152), 418 (of the year 1156), 423 and 424 (of the year 1157).

admitted by all to have been a man of great personal charm. He was what the Germans call *liebenswürdig;* he lacked the majestic stature of the Salians, and evidently lacked also something of their gift for inspiring awe in their subjects, but he was a first-class knight and athlete. In his seventh decade he could compete with honour in the tournaments at the great Diet of Mainz in 1184. His hair was crisped over his forehead and hardly covered his ears, 'the barber, out of reverence for the Empire, cutting it short,' says Ragewin.[1] He had a trick of blushing which delighted everyone; he was very devout, and, in contrast to his contemporary Henry II. of England, would never do business during divine service; he was a diligent student of history, and a very fluent speaker in German; but he could understand Latin better than he could pronounce it, and in all intercourse with non-German-speaking people he had to make use of an interpreter.

In short, the great Hohenstaufen was, like the first Salian, *echt Deutsch;* his Swabian homeland, though essentially southern, was by now one of the purest 'German' lands of the Reich. If its Kaisers never had the power of the early Salians, they at least kept Germanism very pure; they preserved it as a force in Europe, and prevented it from being swamped by Latinism. Also, in the teeth of a power greater than themselves, they kept the flag of temporal independence flying, and thus to some extent set the standard for the kings of England and France. And, after all, when they fell, they helped to pull down the arrogant Papacy on the top of themselves.

Now, in 1152, all rallied to young Frederick for two reasons, first, because he represented the reaction against Bernardism, and secondly, because he represented peace and union; especially he represented the end of the feud between his own family and that of the Welfs, a feud which, with short interruptions, had lasted for a century, in spite of the close marriage connection between

[1] *Gesta Fred.*, iv., 86.

the two houses.[1] So anxious was Frederick to put an end to this quarrel that he began by giving the administration of the Matildine lands[2] to Welf VI. (who at once handed them over to his son), and also by favouring, unduly and at the expense of far more trustworthy people, his young cousin, Henry the Lion. In the teeth of advice and at the expense of his own most loyal relations the Babenbergs, he added in 1154 the Duchy of Bavaria to the possessions of this Henry, Duke of Saxony; and, three years later, in order to compensate the Babenbergs for this, he erected their Margraviate of Austria, previously reckoned as an outpost of the Bavarian Duchy, into a dukedom, inheritable even in the female line, and alienable by testament; worse still, he freed the new duke from all service to the Reich except upon his own frontiers. From one point of view nothing could have turned out better; the Babenbergs, who have never received due justice from history, were, with one exception (the last of their race), valiant, loyal, and most energetic instruments to push the frontier of Germany down the Danube. They enter little into German politics, just because they were doing such good German work, and this they could hardly have done so thoroughly had not Frederick's charter given them a very free hand. But, on the other hand, this was the first fatal step towards making the Reich the confederation of princes which it afterwards became. Frederick also gave a big strip of Eastern Burgundy, including Lausanne and Geneva, as a fief to the old rivals of his house, the Zähringen family. As for Saxony, for over two decades he turned a deaf ear to string after string of complaints, only too well founded, from thoroughly loyal men like Albert the Bear, to the effect that Henry the Lion was making himself a mere king in the north.

[1] It is Otto of Freising who, speaking of these two families, stamps them with the name of Gueibeling (*Italice* Ghibelline) and Gwelf, 'the one accustomed to produce emperors, the other great dukes' (*Gesta*, ii., 2). Waibeling was Frederick's birthplace.

[2] *Query*, or enfeoffed him with them? See Giesebrecht, v., 8; vi., 326; Welf certainly took titles as if he were enfeoffed.

On the frontier (always the first task of a new German sovereign) Frederick had better and less expensive success; for instance, he successfully stopped a civil war in Denmark, disposing of its crown to one claimant, of duchies in it to another;[1] he marched in 1157 into Poland, crossing the deep Oder, which was reckoned a great feat,[2] took the fortress of Glogau, so well known to a later German Frederick, and marched as far as Gnesen; the Bohemians helped him well in this campaign, and their Duke Wladislas got the title of king as a reward.[3] The lying Pole who, of course, promised complete submission, and whom Frederick treated as a mere duke, evaded his promises, as Slavs would always do. But there were several important results of this campaign: Silesia began to be seriously Germanised, Pomerania to be freed from Polish sovereignty, and Henry the Lion reduced Wagria and Mecklenburg to civilised provinces, while Albert the Bear was able to go on busily with the colonisation of the valleys of the Havel and the Spree. Burgundy, the hard-won acquisition of Conrad II., had been of little use to German Kaisers since the death of Henry III., and had been let out in fiefs to Zähringers, who were allowed to call themselves Counts of Burgundy; Frederick married, in 1157, Beatrice, the heiress of one branch of these people, and thereby revived the half-forgotten imperial claims in the valleys of the Doubs, Saône, and Rhone. He was crowned at Arles, and even got a large contingent of knightly vassals[4] for his Italian wars by the marriage. But I do not think the imperial hold on the French-speaking districts of the country was

[1] This civil war had been going on, with various claimants and numerous murders, ever since the accession of Lothair to the German crown. It is described at length by Helmold.

[2] Frederick gives a most joyous description of this campaign in his letter to Wibald (*Wibaldi Epistolæ*, 434).

[3] Ragewin, *Gesta*, iii., 5. Henry IV. had already given the duke of his day the royal title, but later emperors had refused it to later dukes. Wladislas was crowned at Regensburg in 1158.

[4] The Ursperg Chronicle (Pertz, *Scriptores*, xxiii., 346) says Beatrice brought him five thousand knights!

ever a very real one. In the autumn of 1157 Frederick seemed to be at the height of his power, and the title of *Divus* as well as that of *Augustus* is thenceforth occasionally applied to him.

Frederick's relations with his French and English neighbours depended so much on his attitude to the Pope, that they had best be treated in connection with that subject; but before the end of the reign we can see traces of that hostility between the houses of Anjou and Hohenstaufen, which led our Richard I. to his captivity, led our John to espouse the cause of the anti-emperor Otto IV. of Saxony, and led our Henry III. to his foolish Sicilian policy; all of which led therefore, necessarily, to a growing friendship between the Hohenstaufen and the French kings.

Internally, Frederick's own Swabia was not a rich country, and he made a bad bargain when he gave up the Salian property in the Harz (except Goslar) to Henry the Lion in exchange for Baden. But this poverty made him lay the greatest stress on the friendship, not to say the submission, of the great Rhenish and other bishops. On the whole they thoroughly supported most of his policy, though few of them liked the schism which he created in 1160. He squeezed them continually for money; he acted sometimes as if his *Vogtei* (or protectorate) of their lands gave him the right to treat them as imperial possessions, and he even got them to grant to himself fiefs in these lands. Yet the Church as a whole remained strongly imperialist, even in the worst period of Frederick's struggle with the Pope. If a city and its bishop quarrelled, *e.g.* Mainz in 1160-1163, Frederick was too apt to be found upon the side of the bishop, and on this occasion he actually ordered the walls of Mainz to be levelled;[1] when a city and its bishop united against him, as did Cologne and Archbishop Philip in 1186-1187,

[1] The Mainzers had actually murdered their bishop, so there was some excuse for Frederick's strong measures. But it was a very serious loss for the 'Canterbury of Germany': the walls were not rebuilt till 1200, and the city lost all chance of holding its own with its old rival Cologne (see Giesebrecht, v., 362 *sqq.*).

the Kaiser, then an old man, might easily have been led into extreme courses against both but for the dreadful news of the fall of Jerusalem, which set all Europe at peace again.

Cologne, indeed, was now far ahead of all other cities: it had its gildhall in London, and everything for it depended on free trade with England; this Frederick did not understand. The only parallel to Cologne in the south was Regensburg, and it is interesting to notice that the coinage of the latter ran all over the south, as that of the former all over the north. Frankfurt-am-Main, Goslar, and Nuremberg were the only towns of great importance actually 'owned' by the Hohenstaufen emperors. Aachen, Ulm, and Dortmund were perhaps next in value; Gelnhausen, Friedberg, Wetzlar, Trifels, Haguenau, Kaiserslautern, and Kaiserswerth were fortresses of some reputation at the end of Frederick's reign. Too many of them had hereditary *Vogts* among the neighbouring nobles, and the power of the *Schultheiss*, or royal steward, was often thrown into the shade by that of the *Vogt*. But the 'ministeriales,' or knight-servants of the bishops were generally at Frederick's disposal; they afforded the sturdiest warriors for his numerous campaigns in Italy; they maintained his land-peace, and held courts to carry it out; and, backed by them, even to the mightiest rebels he was always terrible. He revived, for instance, the good old custom of *harmiscara* of Otto I., and in 1156 made the Palatine Count Hermann of Stahleck and ten of his companions 'carry dogs' on their backs, barefoot, for a mile.[1] Frederick's land-peaces are, for the first time, something more than engagements out of which you could contract yourself by refusing to swear to them; they are real acts of legislation, and intended as such. It is in their penalties that they are mainly

[1] See Giesebrecht, v., 79, and Schröder, *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, 352 and 779; see also, for an early instance of this strange punishment, Vol. I. of this book, p. 340. Frederick made his half-brother Conrad 'Count Palatine of the Rhine' in succession to this rebel, and hence grew up the 'Rhenish Palatinate.'

deficient, for the *ultima ratio* is only 'the ban' or outlawry, in other words, self-help and private war. One may definitely say that Frederick did more 'governing' than any of his predecessors; for instance, he set up a court to fix the prices of corn each year after harvest in each county. The whole country, and especially North Germany (which we shall have to treat separately), did grow in riches. At Soest was the gild of the *Schleswig-fährer*, and the mercantile law of Soest became the foundation of the law of Lübeck and of the Hanseatic League. It would not be at all true to say that Frederick despised town life or trade, but it would be true to say that he hardly saw what was coming as a result of the good peace which he strove so hard to maintain. Before the end of his reign the great roads of commerce were beginning to touch Germany and to bind it, not only to England *viâ* Cologne and to the Baltic *viâ* Lübeck, but also to Italy *viâ* Augsburg and the Brenner Pass; Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were to be the feeding-pipes of Eastern trade to the North of Europe, and some of this was beginning to pass through Germany. But Frederick's mind still moved rather in the ideas of the early Salians, and it was a little ridiculous to go on buying and exchanging manors, and building innumerable castles, and yet to expect to live on rents paid in pigs and eggs and eels, as the early Salians had lived.[1]

Whether or no it is to his credit, he never attempted the bold policy of the early years of Henry IV. in the direction of centralised monarchy; he upheld the 'old' constitution (if it can be called one) of Germany; nay, he rather emphasised it, for he drew a legal distinction between 'princes' of the Reich (*Fürste*)[2]

[1] True, Frederick always tried to create markets at the foot of the castles which he built, and some of these (*e.g.* Kaiserslautern) grew into towns; one might say that he tried to create a 'royal domain' in Swabia, as Henry III. and IV. had tried to create one in Saxony.

[2] Princes were: Bishops, Dukes; the King of Bohemia; the Margraves of Brandenburg, Lusatia, and Meissen; the Landgraves of Thuringia and Anhalt; the Counts Palatine of Rhine and of Saxony; Abbots who held directly of the crown.

and other vassals, and thus became the founder of of the second 'College,' of the later German Diet; only these 'princes' were to be allowed to keep 'ministeriales.' But it was a great pity that he either did not try to make, or was powerless to make, the army depend upon anything but the consent of his vassals; the Diet had to decide in each particular case how many knights each of the crown vassals must send to war; a vassal's feudal obligation was never really defined.[1] This Diet, then, remained an assembly of princes, not a king's law-court. To put a rebel to the ban was at best an unsatisfactory way of punishing him; no sheriff with his *posse comitatus* arrived before such rebel's castle to carry him off to jail; in fact the Kaiser had to declare a war on him, a war which the issue of the ban seemed to make a public one, but which was in practice a challenge. No doubt there were law-courts, and they administered various customs; in some places the old Germanic hundred-court survived unfeudalised, and exacted customary fines and wergilds, administered *Landrecht.* More often it was feudalised, and *Hofrecht* (manorial custom) was getting the better of *Landrecht.* And the king, as he moved about from place to place, called his Diets and administered feudal law (*Lehnrecht*) to his vassals; even traces of Roman law principles creep into the charters of the two first Hohenstaufen. But there was no system in the whole thing, no one king's-court administering one king's-law. The only known appeal was the *Urtheilschelte,* wherein the vanquished could challenge to combat, not his opponent, but the court which gave judgment against him! Finally, perhaps the most serious drawback was that a man could not, unless he held directly of the Crown, be brought to justice except within his own native duchy;[2] which is only to say, in other words, that the king's writ did not run all over Germany.

[1] Only in the new fiefs created by Frederick the *quota* of knights to be contributed was in each case defined.

[2] Thus Henry the Lion, when put to the ban at a Diet in Saxony, pleaded that he was of Swabian origin and could not be tried in Saxony, even though he was Duke of Saxony. The Diet on this occasion seems to have ignored the plea.

Oddly enough, while Germany, where Frederick was on the whole victorious, remained rather unregenerate, Italy, where he was very distinctly defeated, was at the end of his life obedient to him and almost rejoicing in its obedience, as it had been to no Kaiser before him. He spent twenty-five years fighting the Italian spirit of independence; he failed more often than he succeeded in taking Italian cities; he was once defeated (at Legnano) in open field by the Lombard militia; yet out of his last ten years he spent a very considerable time, an unarmed and even beloved peacemaker in Lombardy, much of it in that very Milan of which he had once tried to level the giant walls and fill up the ditches.[1] Of these twenty-five years, seventeen were passed by Frederick in continuous hostility to one of the best and ablest of popes; yet that pope died in good peace and friendship with him, and of the rantings of the lesser popes who followed, he needed to take very little account. It could not have been merely good fortune divorced from character and skill which produced such an effect.

It is, of course, upon the mutual attitude of pope and emperor that the gaze of posterity has been directed, and it is highly probable that the same was the field of vision of Frederick's contemporaries. Eugenius III., who was still alive when Frederick was elected king, does not seem to have asked for any renunciation of the Concordat, or even of the encroachments upon its terms which Conrad and perhaps Lothair had made;[2] what he was intent upon was getting his own absolute power in Rome re-established to the prejudice of Arnold of Brescia and the Senate of Rome. Frederick was quite ready for this; he was most anxious to work with the Papacy, not against it, and had no more a good opinion of senates and republics than he had of heretics. But he

[1] If we except the seven continuous years of Henry IV., he probably spent more days in Italy than all his predecessors put together.

[2] No protest was made when Frederick decided a disputed election to the see of Magdeburg, in the teeth of one of the clauses of the Concordat.

was unable to undertake his first expedition to Italy till late in 1154, and the Pope with whom he first had to deal was not the supple Eugenius but the iron-willed Cardinal of Albano, Nicholas the Englishman, who had once been a charity-boy at the monastery of St Albans.[1] He took the name of Hadrian IV.

John of Salisbury knew Hadrian very intimately, and stayed with him for three months in the winter of 1155-1156 at Benevento, and both in his *Historia Pontificalis* and in the *Policraticus* he draws many contrasts and comparisons between him and his predecessors. Eugenius, he says, constantly revoked his own sentences from infirmity of purpose;[2] his own hands were clean (not so those of his *curia*),[3] yet the more he refused gifts, the more they were showered on him. Hadrian himself was infinitely firmer, but his servants seem to have been little better than those of Eugenius. 'He asked me,' says John, 'what people thought of him and the Roman Church, and I told him, they think it a stepmother full of scribes and pharisees, laying on intolerable burdens which it avoids itself . . . and they think the Pope worst of all; the Pope builds palaces out of the ruins of the churches' [Eugenius and Anastasius had actually done so]. 'But you,' said Hadrian, 'what do you think?' John hummed and hawed a good deal, but finally replied, 'Everyone calls you father and lord, but if you are a father why do you expect gifts from us? If you are a lord why don't you subdue your Roman citizens and bring them back to the faith? . . . all is not right in you, my father.' The Pope was pleased, and told John always to tell him of his faults.[4] On another occasion he told John that the Papacy was the most miserable position in the world, a seat full of thorns, a robe full of needles; 'Would I had never left England,

[1] The brief pontificate of Anastasius IV., July 1153 to December 1154, had no importance; he was a very old man, of Roman birth, and seems to have lived at peace with the Romans.

[2] *Hist. Pont.*, Pertz, *Scriptores*, xx., 533.

[3] *Policraticus*, v., 15; v., 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, vi., 24.

or that I had stayed safely in my Provençal cloister . . . my successive promotions from monk to pope have brought me no peace or happiness; God has stretched me between anvil and hammer.' 'He is still alive,' adds John, 'and you can ask him if this is not all true.'[1] Hadrian, indeed, died in the year in which the *Policraticus* was written, after a brief but immensely important pontificate.

There was to be no paltering with senators and heretics in him, and he began by laying the Eternal City under an interdict (its first in history), on account of a street-row in which a cardinal had been wounded. The Romans were not of the stuff of their kinsmen the Venetians, whose later history was full of a long series of interdicts, and they were abjectly terrified. Arnold of Brescia was driven out and fell into the clutches of Frederick's advancing army.

This army was small, not above eighteen hundred men, and half of these were the contingent of Henry the Lion. But Frederick made a brave show, held a great imperial Diet, which was attended by the consuls of the cities and by the great feudatories of North Italy, on the field of Roncaglia,[2] and denounced the penalty of death against all holders of fiefs who refused obedience to his summons. He was already hostile to the people of Milan, who tried to corrupt him with money, and was therefore friendly to those smaller Italian communes who were either rivals or victims of the great Lombard city. Pope Hadrian, who was being actually threatened by the advance of the new King William of Sicily[3] from the south, and

[1] *Policraticus*, viii., 23. It is Matthew Paris who gives Hadrian the *cognomentum* of 'Breakspear,' but, when Nicholas lived, surnames were still rather unusual.

[2] The very site of Roncaglia is now not certainly known; it was probably a plain on the left bank of the Po, a little north-west of Piacenza.

[3] Hadrian had been making the mistake so frequently made by his predecessors, by supporting rebels against the new Sicilian king. 'I mean to conquer Apulia and incorporate it with Benevento,' he told Frederick; 'haec nisi reddideris non mihi Caesar eris' (Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frederici I. et Heinrici VI.*, ed. Pertz,

who naturally desired to punish his late rebels in Rome, had perforce to win Frederick to his side. The Roman rebels sent an absurd letter about the favours which the *alma Orbis domina Urbs* proposed to confer upon Frederick if he would help her to shake off the 'unworthy yoke of the priests,' would swear to keep all her good customs and ancient laws inviolate, and would give to her officials, who should proclaim him in the Capitol, the sum of five thousand pounds.[1]

It was an unusual, even an unique, request; impecunious Germans were more willing to receive than to give. Frederick in reply told the Romans some home truths about the origin of his power, and about Charles the Great. He caught and hanged Arnold[2] without any idea of making him a martyr for liberty's sake. He just managed to get crowned in St Peter's (June 1155), but was immediately attacked by the Romans, and there was some bloody street-fighting, in which Henry the Lion greatly distinguished himself. Indeed the rebels may be said to have won, for both Frederick and Hadrian had to evacuate the Leonine city. And when Hadrian urged Frederick to march south against William of Sicily, the German army, rather than its leader, answered with an emphatic 'No.' Hadrian was already quite inclined to be cross when he and Frederick took leave of each other.[3]

Hanover, 1870, p. 210). Godfrey was a Saxon noble brought to Bamberg as a boy by Lothair (1133), served Conrad in his chapel, followed Frederick to Italy, saw the pestilence of 1167; he was settled at Viterbo by Frederick in 1169, and was probably at Venice in 1177; he was frequently employed in embassies. His metre, two hexameters followed by a pentameter, is remarkable. His *Gesta Frederici* only go to 1181. See Giesebrecht, *vi.*, 293.

[1] Such at least seems to be the plain meaning of the words in Otto of Freising (*Gesta*, ii., 29, *sub fine*); but I have never seen them so interpreted by any modern historian. Helmold (i., 79) also says they asked Frederick for money, fifteen thousand pounds.

[2] Giesebrecht (v., 64, 65) says Arnold was hanged by the Prefect of Rome, not by Frederick's soldiers, and that it is unlikely that either Hadrian or Frederick were present at his execution.

[3] Helmold tells a splendid story of their differences (pp. 153, 154). Frederick, in performing the usual act of imperial courtesy to the

William 'the Bad' was a man in some ways very different from his father Roger; the Southern and half-Eastern influences at the Court of Palermo were beginning to get their fatal grip upon the vigorous Normans. William was a man of immense physical strength, and a valiant fighter when he would take the field, a shrewd and ruthless statesman when he would bend his mind to business. But he was too apt to bury himself in the depths of his palace and leave affairs to his ministers, especially to the great admiral[1] Maione, the son of a judge at Bari. If the palace begins to look like a harem, Maione, at the head of the 'divan' begins to look like a Vizier. William loved letters and learning, and also loved pleasure in the worst sense. It was difficult to persuade him to step forward, but, once he had made up his mind, he could and did act with a swift ferocity that carried everything before it. The queen, a Navarrese princess of great intelligence, and most of the bishops, among whom it is interesting to find the Englishman Richard Palmer, supported Maione stoutly; but the restless mainland nobles and some of the younger branches of the royal family were profoundly jealous of the upstart minister, and even in the year of William's accession a series of intrigues began, with exiles in Germany, with exiles in Constantinople, and with the courts of both these countries, which very nearly ended in upsetting the throne. If only Hadrian could have kept on good terms with Frederick,

Pope, held his left or near stirrup (the stirrup of ceremony) to enable him to mount his mule; Hadrian said 'St Peter is dishonoured; you ought to have held my right stirrup.' Frederick pleaded 'pure ignorance,' not lack of devotion; 'I have never given my mind to the matter of stirrup-holding; your Holiness is indeed the first person, so far as I remember, for whom I ever performed such an act.' Frederick was perhaps too polite to say, 'Your Holiness is the first person of whom I ever heard that he wished to mount on the wrong side.' But they parted without the kiss of peace.

[1] *Ammiratus*, a Latinisation of *Emir;* the word has at first no nautical connotation. Both George of Antioch under Roger II., and Maione under William I., bore the title of *ammiratus ammiratorum*, which should rather be translated 'chief Emir' than 'admiral' in our sense.

one does not see how William could have escaped. The first actual insurrection began on the mainland in 1155. Manuel offered Greek troops to aid the Pope, and offered also the future union of the Eastern and Western churches; most of the mainland cities fell away from William, and there were murmurs against Maione in the island itself. William seems to have waited unconcerned all the autumn and winter, but when he landed in May he swept Greeks, insurgents, and papalists like chaff before him, and took cruel vengeance on his rebels. There was nothing for Hadrian to do but to follow the example of his predecessors, Innocent, Honorius, Gregory, and Leo, and, by the Treaty of Benevento, to confirm the hated Norman as King of Sicily and Southern Italy, and legate in the island (not in Apulia), with free nomination of his bishops, freedom from appeals to Rome, a metropolitanate for Palermo, and an extension of the frontier of Apulia in the direction of Chieti and Fermo. To have wrung so much from such a pope as Hadrian was a surprising triumph for William. But the revolt had far-reaching consequences, for it was shortly followed by a revolt of the new possessions in Africa; the Almohads, who were conquering in Spain with their left hand, took Tunis and El Medeah with their right (1160), and Tripoli had already thrown off the Norman yoke in 1158 or 1159. Maione and William, foreseeing a long contest with Constantinople and with Germany, made no attempt to succour Norman Africa.

Meanwhile, Frederick's little and ever-dwindling army had fought its way back through malarial mosquitoes to Spoleto, which he destroyed; to Ancona, where he opened some sort of negotiation with Constantinople; to Verona, to Trent. In the last stage the emperor was in constant danger from huge organised groups of professional robbers far exceeding his own troops in numbers, and Otto has to quote *o passi graviora* to express his feelings. Frederick, like the Duke of Wellington in Holland, had at least 'learned how not to do it next time, and that is always something.'

And he had got the Imperial Crown and perhaps some express confirmation of the Concordat out of a particularly haughty and aggressive pope. But on this first expedition he had been quite unable to deal with Milan, or to make good, as he had intended to do, the fullest claims of the Roman Empire over the now powerful Lombard communes. Indeed he could hardly have hoped to do so before he had been crowned Emperor; now, however, he meant to come again and to be dreadfully in earnest. He spent two years, partly in German business, partly in preparation for this expedition (1156-1158); and meanwhile happened what modern diplomatists would call the 'incident' of Besançon. As told by Prebendary Ragewin, or Rahewin, who takes up Bishop Otto's *Gesta* at August 1157, Frederick was holding a great diet at Besançon, in Burgundy, when two ambassadors from Pope Hadrian appeared, one of them being Cardinal Roland Bandinelli (afterwards Alexander III.), and presented a complaint about the Swedish Archbishop of Lund, who had been arrested and imprisoned in Germany. In speaking of what Frederick had received and might yet receive from papal hands, they made use of the unfortunate expression *beneficia*. *Beneficium* means both 'fief' and 'kindness.' Which it was intended to mean in the letter no one can say. The letter was read and translated by Frederick's Chancellor, Reginald of Dassel, and one of the manuscripts of the *Gesta* says translated *fida nimis interpretatione* ('translated much too literally'), while the other has *satis* for *nimis*.[1] Much turns on these words! for, if the former is the right reading, Reginald probably 'edited' the letter as a later German chancellor edited the famous Ems telegram. Anyhow the letter was of itself a provocatory one, and the word *Lehn* (fief), or its then equivalent in Old-High-German, applied by a pope to the Crown of the Empire, brought angry knights to their feet, brought swords more than half out of scabbards. Frederick had to protect the envoys,

[1] 'Nur zu getreuen' is the rendering of Giesebrecht (v., 123) who, however, sees only one side of the question.

and told them to go off instantly, unanswered, to Rome *recta via*, by the straightest road, that is to say, they were not to go sowing sedition in Germany. He would take his stand on the Carolingian position, and he ignored the whole tragic history of the Salians.

Frederick's army of the year 1158, therefore, included not only Germany and Bohemian[1] knights, Hungarian archers, North Italian crossbowmen from the cities like Pavia, Cremona, Como, and Lodi, which were jealous of Milan, but also jurists from the School of Bologna to help in establishing the imperial or *regalian* rights on a Justinianian basis. Four doctors in particular are named, and when they came to the Diet of Roncaglia in November 1158 they very properly demanded assessors from the Lombard cities to instruct them as to what *regalia* had been usurped by these. Before he started, Frederick had also sent his trusty friend Otto of Wittelsbach, one day to be Duke of Bavaria and ancestor of its kings, and Reginald of Dassel, his Chancellor, soon to be Archbishop of Cologne and almost Prime Minister of the Reich, to revive imperial sympathies in Lombardy. These preparations frightened Hadrian into an attempt to explain away the unfortunate word *beneficia*, and, by the influence of good Bishop Otto of Freising, the Pope was brought to quite a reasonable frame of mind.

The decision, however, was to lie, not at Rome, but in Lombardy. Frederick crossed the Alps at Whitsuntide; Milan, after a short month's siege, fell in September. The conditions imposed were imprudent, though not, except in outward show, brutal,[2] but they included the restoration of all usurped *regalia* to the Crown. It was to decide how

[1] One regrets this, for these Slavs did after their kind and committed horrible depredations, and also performed some gallant feats of arms; Bohemia, throughout Frederick's reign, seems to have been a valuable ally to him. Giesebrecht (v., 140) allows the emperor ten thousand knights and forty thousand foot—an incredible figure.

[2] The citizens were to appear with ropes round their necks, the consuls with drawn swords behind their necks. This is a frequent condition at this time, and I fail to understand it, unless, indeed, each consul was accompanied by a soldier; a man could not

much of these *regalia* had been usurped, and of what they consisted, that the famous second Diet of Roncaglia sat in November, Frederick meanwhile quietly sending to collect rents from all imperial property. The Diet was attended by practically the whole of the cities, bishops, and feudatories of North Italy. Frederick has been much blamed for looking at Italy from a 'Roman-law point of view,' instead of a practical-political point of view I fail to see the justice of the accusation. Law may often mean merely outworn tradition, but practical politics always means force; and it is better that force should pay some homage to law than override it.[1] No doubt the tiresome jurists treated the question of these *regalia* rather as law-professors than as judges would treat them to-day, and they awarded in favour of the Crown many tolls and dues on rivers, bridges, fisheries, markets, and the like, which had not been paid in the 'golden days' of Henry V., but had been paid to the count-bishops, to whom the Carolings and Saxons had entrusted the administration. But they also allowed that anyone who could prove an imperial grant for his *regalia* might keep them. They gave to Frederick an enormous pecuniary compensation for the *regalia* which had been usurped, or in lieu of *regalia* which he allowed to remain in private or civic hands, and no doubt during the next ten years he did raise, and even squeeze, very large sums out of Northern and Central Italy. They gave him the nomination of all judges or *podestà* in the cities;[2] they allowed the consuls to be elected, but ruled that they needed imperial confirmation. They forbade all leagues of cities with each other. They proclaimed a strong land-peace for Italy, with heavy penalties for breach of its

very well hold a drawn sword behind his own neck, or at least he could hardly make effective use of it against himself. Helmold (p. 184) notices Henry the Lion imposing the same conditions on some captive Slavs in 1163.

[1] Ragewin (iv., 6) says that Frederick wondered that the Latins, who boast themselves of their learning in the law, are also found to be the greatest transgressors of the laws.

[2] Until the destruction of Milan, Frederick usually allowed an Italian *podestà* to be appointed; after that, a German.

terms. And, finally, they laid down that no fief might be sold, pawned, or alienated without leave of its overlord; that duchies, margraviates, and counties might not be divided, that smaller fiefs might be divided with leave of their overlords.

The Archbishop of Milan fully endorsed these imperial claims, and quoted the Institutes of Justinian in their favour. But here he erred; the real point is that the decisions, even if they pretended to be based upon Justinian's laws, which they probably did not, were not even good Roman law. Not all these things had been crown property, nay, many of the tolls now claimed as *regalia* had been municipal property, in the days of old Imperial Rome. The real Empire had never claimed to confirm or displace elected municipal magistrates. Most of the rights in dispute had probably originated in grants by Caroling or Saxon emperors to their representatives' the bishop-counts, and from them had passed, as customary rights, to the self-liberated cities. Finally the whole idea of a fief was alien to real Roman law. Roman law was, indeed, steadily getting the better of Lombard law, and of 'mixed' customary jurisprudence all over Italy, but it was not because of Frederick's feudal glosses on it. Frederick also put himself rather out of court by confirming to the friendly Lombard communes the very rights which he contested in the case of the unfriendly; and as several of the communes subsequently changed sides, the situation ultimately became ridiculous. Moreover, the capitulation of September had assured a very fair measure of freedom to Milan, and Milan now felt with some reason that this capitulation was being violated by a lot of plaguy jurists. Thus Genoa, not previously hostile, simply refused to obey the decrees of Roncaglia, and Otto and Reginald, who came to Milan to enforce them, were chased away. After all, what was the use of edicts when there was no permanent court set up to enforce them? It was left for Frederick's grandson to institute first in Sicily (but with the intention of applying them to all Italy) at once a system of law and a court to enforc it.

The Pope's attitude towards Milan and her allies is interesting; John of Salisbury[1] had once heard him rail at the Lombards as 'fellows who would take off their hats to anyone in order to catch benefits,' but now, no doubt, Hadrian had stirred up Lombard disobedience; and the German chancellor departed, vowing undying hatred to pope and communes alike. Reginald had just been nominated by Frederick to the see of Cologne; it is interesting to compare his position with that of his exact contemporary, Thomas Becket. If Becket had played the part that his king expected of him when he gave him the archbishopric, he would have been doing exactly what Reginald did, and the history of the English Church might have been a different one. It is also striking that Reginald at once introduced into the imperial correspondence with the Pope the use of the familiar *tu* instead of the respectful *vos*. It was, indeed, not wonderful that the Pope should be alarmed, for the imperial claims on Central, and even on Southern, Italy, were, in theory at least, just as valid as those upon Lombardy. They differed in fact from these only in the fact that no emperor since Charlemagne had ever in practice made them good. They were as valid, or as invalid, for the city of Rome itself as for anywhere else.

Hadrian, before his death in September 1159, had effected some sort of reconciliation with the Romans, and done something to re-create a papal party in Rome, a party that was to depend upon William of Sicily, and to build up, if possible, an alliance with the Greeks. It is clear that he wished to reconcile these two irreconcilables, but Maione, who had succeeded in detaching first Venice and then Genoa from their Eastern alliances, was at the very moment burning Greek towns in Eubœa. Hadrian, then, had to make the best of the Sicilian alliance alone, and, though he had to reckon with a powerful German party among his cardinals, Cardinal Roland (soon to be his successor as Alexander III.) carried the day in favour of reliance upon William. William poured gold into the

[1] *Policraticus* III., vii.

pockets of the Milanese and of everyone who would resist the Germans. One chronicler[1] says that Hadrian offered William the crown of Italy; there is no corroborative evidence of this, but how much the best solution it would have been! At any rate Hadrian's latest acts were acts of bitter hostility to the Empire. He had just sent Frederick a row of fresh demands: no imperial messages to be sent to Rome without his leave, no *fodrum* to be collected on papal property except at coronations, Italian bishops never to do homage to the emperor, all the rents of the Matildine lands to be handed to the Pope. Frederick, for his part, had recently endowed the Welf family with all these lands; he had nominated an Archbishop of Ravenna at his pleasure, and he had even hinted to Hadrian that the popes might owe feudal service for the estates of the Church! Both sides had in fact thrown over the Concordat, and had reopened the whole struggle of 1076-1122. One German chronicler[2] says that the Lombards had paid Hadrian large moneys to excommunicate Frederick. But Hadrian died at Anagni, 1st September 1159, without having reached this pitch of pride and power. Frederick had already received large reinforcements from Germany, and had begun the terrible siege of Milan's ally Crema. He had then with him, perhaps, ten thousand fighting men.

Rome was still divided, and a decent minority in the conclave,[3] not without secret prompting from Otto of Wittelsbach, hastened to elect Cardinal Octavian as Victor IV. But the majority made, in more regular,

[1] The continuator of Sigebert of Gembloux, see Pertz, *Scriptores*, vi., 408-409.

[2] Burchard of Ursperg (the continuator of Ekkehard of Aura), in Pertz, *Scriptores*, xxiii., p. 36.

[3] Godfrey of Viterbo's opinion of the conclave was a poor one, almost as poor as his prosody:

> Cardi-simul-nales fuerant quasi bis duodeni,
> Fraude, dolo pleni cetus uterque venit.
>
> *Gesta Fred.*, i., 305-306.

though not in perfectly regular form, the natural choice of their own champion,[1] and the new Pope, that same Cardinal Roland who had dropped the unlucky word *beneficia* at Besançon, took the name of Alexander III.; he was a Sienese by birth, and had been a distinguished lecturer on Canon Law at Bologna; he had at once, like Urban II., to take refuge in Norman territory at Terracina. To Englishmen he is well known as Becket's Pope, and as one not nearly papal enough for that stalwart champion of 'down with the State.' In truth, he was a diplomatist of a high order, a devoted champion of what he conceived to be the best interests of the Church, yet ever ready to hold out the olive branch to any state that would 'behave reasonably'; one hardly knows whether to admire more Alexander's faithful resistance in adversity (though he was evidently of a somewhat timid physical nature) or his beautiful placability after his victory. Frederick made a hideous error in favouring the schism against such a pope; though a minority of cardinals had chosen Victor IV., nearly all Christendom except Germany (and a good few Germans as well) were for Alexander. One doubts, indeed, whether it was so much Frederick's schism as Reginald of Dassel's; certainly Frederick would never have pushed it on in later years as ruthlessly and as hopelessly as he did but for Reginald.

Yet one man, perhaps the longest-headed German of the day, and one who ended his days as a convinced Alexandrine, Gerhoh, Provost of the Augustinian Collegiate Church of Reichersberg in Bavaria, hesitated for some time, and wrote early in 1162 his *De Investigatione Antichristi* to probe the causes of the schism, which he considered should be ended by a general council, called not by the Kaiser alone but by all the kings of Europe. Till 1164 at least (he died in 1169) Gerhoh remained on the friendliest terms with Frederick, labouring always to compose the schism, but not doubting after 1163 that Alexander was pope. He

[1] The numbers were probably fourteen for Roland and seven for Octavian; the matter is discussed at length in Giesebrecht's note, vi., 387.

spoke also his full mind to Alexander on the necessity of Church reform.[1] After 1164 he was involved in the persecution that fell on the diocese of Salzburg. The city of Rome, indeed, at the date of the schism, was mostly for Victor, but then, as I said above (see p. 135), this was almost enough to spoil Victor's cause. Sicily, since William's reconciliation with Hadrian, never wavered in its devotion to the Pope; but in November 1160 she was paralysed by a fierce outbreak in Palermo itself, nominally against Maione, who was murdered, really against the king and his 'palace.' William, most strangely, hesitated to punish the murderers, and even allowed himself to be taken prisoner in his palace. The conspirators, however, failed to agree on a candidate for the throne, and in the spring of 1161 the king woke up and, as usual, won a complete victory, which was followed by severe repression. There were no more internal troubles till William died in 1166, leaving a son William II. ('the Good'), aged thirteen, under the regency of his able and devoted mother, Margaret of Navarre.

Crema fell in January 1160, and next month Frederick called his Synod of Pavia. Here he would decide, after the manner of Henry III. at Sutri, how to fill the Papal

[1] Gerhoh's few letters collected in Migne, vol. cxciii., and his tracts, *ibid.*, cxciv., are, so far as they touch on politics, of extreme interest. But Migne's collection is very imperfect, and the best collection is in the third volume of the *Libelli de Lite* (Hanover, 1897), where there is an excellent preface to Gerhoh's works by Ernest Sackur. In his earlier days Gerhoh had stood up to Bernard, and withstood the movement for the Second Crusade. In his old age, writing to Alexander and to other friends, he reviews Church politics during the last forty years, and, while concluding that on the whole the popes he had known had been 'good dogs who barked well' (Letter xxi.), finds the *Curia* a thoroughly corrupt institution. 'Art thou,' he says to Alexander (Letter xvii.), 'he that shall come [to reform it], or look we for another?' I suppose that one hears more complaints of the corruption of the Roman *Curia* in the twelfth century than before (i) because of the great increase of its appellate jurisdiction; (ii) because of the destruction of local and national church-customs after the appearance of Gratian's *Decretum*; and (iii) because of the great increase of professional ecclesiastical lawyers trained at Bologna.

chair; there were about fifty bishops present, and numerous other clerics. Great appearance of open-mindedness was maintained (for instance, there was a seven days' debate), but it is fairly clear that, of the hundred and fifty-three signatures which were given in favour of Frederick's candidate, Victor IV., few were those of real adherents. Some may even, as the Papal party alleged, have been forged; more probably they were those of bishops who, not being present, had written to accept Victor. Gerhoh thought that Alexander ought to have come to the council himself. Alexander, however, explained that nowadays laymen, even if they were emperors, ought not to call Church councils; but Reginald and Frederick had got Justinian and Constantine on the brain. From Pavia, Reginald went to try Louis VII. (perhaps because Cluny and Prémontré were for the moment both for Victor), and succeeded in beguiling him into a long, a too long, hesitation. Louis had suffered several things from Bernardine popes early in his reign, and he was perhaps too anxious not to offend the apparently mighty Frederick. But, though he hesitated long, he made up his mind definitely for Alexander in 1162. Frederick, says John of Salisbury, dated his own turn of fortune for the worse from the day when Louis broke off the negotiation with him; 'he had hoped to separate Louis and the French Church from the faith, and pervert them to his own heresy.'[1] Alexander, meanwhile, having left Sicilian territory because of the insurrection going on against the government, came first to Montpellier in Languedoc, then to Tours in Henry II.'s dominions, and finally established himself at Louis's town of Sens in the autumn of 1163. There he stayed for two years; we remember that it was from Sens that he tried to moderate the fiery Becket. Most unwillingly he had felt obliged to excommunicate Frederick; with less unwillingness he

[1] John of Salisbury, Letter 145. A similar idea occurs in Pastor Helmold: 'The French got the better by craft which they could never have done by arms. Alexander's cause began to prosper more from that time' (Helm., i., 90).

performed the same office for Reginald, now by imperial permission Archbishop of Cologne. Henry II., not yet at odds with Becket, and for some time after he became at odds with him, was even more warmly Alexandrine than Louis; and it did not conciliate the kings of England and France that Frederick talked very big about the universal power of the Empire, and allowed Reginald to speak of France and England as 'provinces.'

Meanwhile, after a frightful siege (1161-1162), Milan surrendered at discretion in March 1162. It was to be evacuated by all its inhabitants, and these were distributed in the four nearest small towns. Then its bitterest Lombard rivals (men of Lodi, Cremona, Pavia, Novara) were turned on to level it into arable land. Ragewin, who thought the Milanese both knaves and fools and 'most terrible fellows to talk,'[1] speaks elsewhere, with honest northern scorn, of the bitter hatred of Lombard cities for each other; how in the year 1158 the Cremonese and Pavesans had destroyed with savage joy the products of Milanese soil, and how they killed and tortured each other after battle.[2] One now wonders even more at the stupidity which could conceive such an Assyrio-Babylonian measure of vengeance as this of Frederick on Milan, when he might have utilised the riches of the great commercial city for the imperial exchequer. But even Italian civic rage and German stupidity were exercised in vain against the giant walls, towers, and moat. Evidently, as we shall see below, the ruins were easily reparable. The city of Cologne seems to have been the chief gainer, for Archbishop Reginald carried off from Milan the shrine of the 'Three Kings,' now the greatest glory of Cologne Cathedral.

No doubt the example terrorised Italy, for all over Lombardy and Romagna we find Reginald successfully planting German *podestà*, and raising money in great sacks for the remainder of his life. Among other districts he set seriously to work to govern Tuscany (which Lothair and Conrad III. had left severely alone)

[1] *Gesta*, iv., 27. [2] *Ibid.*, iii., 42.

as an imperial province, and it was he who built the fortress of San Miniato-al-Monte to overawe the now full-blown Guelfic city of Florence. Yet the extension of Florentine power within her own *contado* went on unhindered, as well as her feuds with rivals such as Pisa and Siena. After Reginald's death Christian of Mainz continued his policy, and he at least does not seem to have been unpopular in Tuscany. Frederick paid an unarmed visit to North Italy in 1163 (a very daring thing to do), but found that the ground was quaking under his feet.

The reaction in Italy was, indeed, not long a-coming. Victor died in 1164, and Reginald, apparently without even consulting Frederick, put up another antipope, Cardinal Guy of Crema, as Paschal III.[1] This set even 'good' communes like Pavia and Cremona murmuring, and gave a chance to Manuel (who really had some dreams of playing Justinian and bringing Italy back to the fold of Constantinople) to work upon Venice, and to induce her to work upon other Italian cities, in order to create a really powerful league against Frederick. Leagues became the order of the day—perhaps just because they had been forbidden at Roncaglia; they coalesced and broke to pieces with puzzling rapidity: inter-civic jealousy was too powerful for any one league to endure long. Pisa and Genoa do, indeed, out of jealousy of Venice, promise Frederick the loan of their fleets for his South-Italian designs; but they are soon quarrelling with each other, and in 1165 the emperor invests the Pisan Consul with Sardinia as a fief, to the

[1] Paschal was elected at Lucca, where Victor died; Frederick was either at Lodi or at Pavia at the moment, and seems to have waited several days without giving any orders; then apparently to have accepted the *fait accompli* (see Giesebrecht, v., 394 *sqq.*). It was madness to throw away such a chance of ending the schism, and we must remember that Frederick had not yet cut himself off from, nor persecuted in any way, the moderate party among the German prelates, who had either openly or secretly favoured Alexander. Few, even of Reginald's party, liked to get their consecrations from Victor, fewer from Paschal.

prejudice of Genoa; war between their ships rages on all seas till the end of the year. On the mainland now Verona heads one league, now Ancona[1] almost gives itself to the Greeks; now Venice will help the Germans to besiege Ancona (for she will tolerate no rival suitor for the hand of the Adriatic), now she will pour in gold, won from Moslem and Greek trade, to help to rebuild the walls of Milan; now Padua, Bologna, and Piacenza will drive out their German *podestà*. An imperial viceroy in Italy like Archbishop Reginald has an uneasy time of it. When the Becket quarrel begins in earnest the ubiquitous Reginald appears at Rouen and almost talks Henry II. over to the antipope; does in fact arrange a marriage for Henry the Lion with little Matilda, daughter of the English king. There were several new feuds in Germany as a consequence of the schism; Reginald himself was at feud with the Kaiser's half-brother Conrad, Palatine of the Rhine; the new Archbishop of Mainz and this Conrad had both become Alexandrine; there was a bad feud in Swabia between young Welf and a Count of Tübingen. Thus the fair prospects of the reign as one of peace and order seemed to be vanishing; and the good Kaiser's attempt to galvanise national feeling by the canonisation and translation of the bones of Charlemagne at the Christmas feast at Aachen, in 1165, had little real effect.

A little after his return from Rouen, Reginald had been at Würzburg, forcing on the German princes and bishops (sorely against their will) an oath that they would never recognise Alexander or any one of his party as pope. English ambassadors were present at the synod and actually took the oath, but they were repudiated by their master, Henry II., when they got home. No one, in fact, really liked this oath; the bishops took it *cum fletu et planctu*. Salzburg refused it, and saw his lands ravaged by an incensed Kaiser; Mainz refused it, was

[1] The whole story of Ancona is very dark; it is not certain whether or no there was a Greek garrison in it; see Giesebrecht's note, vi., 463.

deposed, and saw his see given to that most gallant but unspiritual person Christian, the best knight-bishop on Frederick's chessboard—and, in the end, the man who at last forced Frederick himself to yield obedience to Alexander. Rome itself had begun to feel uncomfortable, and had invited Alexander to return, which he did after a difficult journey in 1165. One may say that, from 1161 to 1165, neither pope nor antipope had been able to get a serious party in Rome, where the Senate continued to behave almost as an independent, if very unimportant, power. It was the union of the once mutually hostile Pierleoni and Frangipani that had called Alexander back. Reginald and Christian now advanced with a large force of Brabançon mercenaries (a new landmark in military history; we remember that our kings from Stephen to John frequently employed the same troops) towards Rome; 'like good fishermen,' says Vincent of Prague,[1] they 'spread their net widely' to Genoa and to Tuscany, and 'got an innumerable prey of marks to pay soldiers with.' Frederick followed through Lombardy in the autumn of 1166; in this new army of his there were no Saxons,[2] for Henry the Lion said he dared not leave his colonising work in Saxony half-finished — we shall hear more of this work soon. Reginald had long been uneasy about this Henry, who was behaving with too much independence in the far north; indeed, before he left for Italy he had been in open league with Henry's Saxon rivals. By this time only Como and Pavia were holding for Frederick, who was able to effect very little on his southward march. On he went, however, in the spring of 1167, a lion through a pack of wolves, and wasted much time at a futile siege

[1] *Annales seu Chronicon Boemorum* in Pertz, *Scriptores*, xvii., 683. Giesebrecht (vi., 312) considers Vincent's chronicle one of the best authorities for Frederick's early years; it was continued from 1167 by Abbot Gerlach of Mühlhausen.

[2] We have no certain figures for the army of 1166, but, wanting the Saxon troops, it is not likely to have been so great as that of 1162.

of Ancona. Reginald and Christian inflicted in May a terrible defeat on the Romans at Tusculum, against odds of twenty to one. Frederick, who had already passed by Rome, returned northward, camped on Monte Mario, stormed St Peter's, and drove the Pope to flight to Benevento. The Pisan galleys failed to catch Alexander, but helped Frederick to blockade Rome. The remnants of the Roman militia suddenly turned round, threw themselves at Frederick's feet, and allowed the antipope to recrown him in Rome.

Then came the celebrated pestilence of 1167. Within seven days from its outbreak, the bishops of Cologne, Prague, Regensburg, and Speyer, young Welf VII., young Frederick of Swabia (the emperor's cousin), and over half the German knights, were dead.[1] The remnants hastened away, almost without arms and dropping dead by hundreds on the road to Pavia. No wonder the Papalists spoke of Sennacherib; the moral effect of such an event was even worse than the practical. Moreover, Reginald of Cologne was as irreplaceable as the army of 1166. Never again could Frederick put such a force into the field; and for statesmanship henceforth he must depend upon himself. His courage was as undaunted as ever, and he needed it all. For while he had been away south, the Veronese and Lombard leagues, now two-and-twenty cities strong, had flared up behind his path with the cry of 'restoration of free Consular Government.' They soon began to rebuild Milan, and to repeople it with its own banished people. They compelled Lodi to join its old enemies. Worse still, they began to build a city at the great strategical point where Bormida and Tanaro meet, on the high road between Milan and Genoa, and began

[1] Godfr. Vit., *Gesta*, pp. 679-681. Frederick was saved by pitching his own tent on a hill, also by being bled; 'curaque flebotomi digna paratur ei.' (*N.B.*, this is a pentameter, though you might not think so.) A scorching sun following on a fearful thunderstorm and rainstorm is given as the cause of the pestilence by several contemporary authorities. One wishes that John of Salisbury had not been so exultant over Frederick's misfortunes as he shows himself in his letters (Letters 201-226 *passim*).

to call it, after the Pope, *Alessandria*. Within two years this city of refuge, or of saucy defiance, could put fifteen thousand armed men upon its walls. For nine anxious months, almost without reinforcements, Frederick and the ghosts of his army fought on with their backs to the Alps against these Lombard leagues, before they could find their way home *viâ* the Mont Cenis to Grenoble and Geneva. They were nearly cut off at Susa on their Alpine passage, and once Frederick had to escape in the disguise of a servant. Alexander held his peaceful court at Benevento, and Denmark, Poland, Hungary, and even Frederick's old friend, Bohemia, came over to his obedience; Burgundy, always at heart Alexandrine, was now openly taking the same road. Alexandrine bishops at once began to replace the schismatic bishops in the Lombard sees.

The next four or five years were the worst Frederick ever saw, and almost as bad in Germany as in Italy. He had to deal with an open rebellion of the Archbishop of Salzburg, and he began to perceive that Henry the Lion was becoming more of a danger than a support in the north. Henry had been frankly allowed to stand aside from the last Lombard campaign, alleging always that he was pushing German civilisation in the far north. This was to a certain extent true, but he was pushing it in such a way as to provoke all who ought to be helping him to push it, into open war; the whole of East Saxony was aflame. Over-seas Henry II., who had, no doubt under extreme pressure from the *intransigeance* of Becket, leaned to a German and antipapal alliance was, of course, obliged to become a red hot Alexandrine after Becket's murder; and any hostility with England was a serious threat to the growing riches of the Rhenish cities, especially to Cologne. The German Church, as a whole, was more than weary of the schism and hated the Würzburg oath. Yet when Paschal died in September 1168 (actually in Rome itself though never safe there), his schismatic cardinals elected one of themselves, a pious and undistinguished abbot, as Calixtus III., and Frederick seems

to have acquiesced with a sigh at the continuance of the schism. Perhaps he thought—

> I am in schism,
> Stepp'd in so far that, should I wade no more,
> Returning were as tedious as go o'er.

As for Italy, Alexander might be driven back to France, and Christian of Mainz might be carrying all before him in Spoleto and Tuscany, the maritime cities might have fallen away from the Lombards; but Christian quite failed to take Ancona, and there were now thirty-six Lombard towns, pledged to the closest alliance with the Pope, and, for a wonder, really united among themselves; they had their federal organisation under *rectores*, and even Pavia was on their side. Alexander may very well have been thinking of transferring the crown of Italy to the Greeks.[1]

Manuel, who had been at peace with Sicily since 1160, had been offering *montes et maria* to the Pope for this end for years past, and had offered the hand of his daughter and heiress to young William of Sicily, which would have placed the heirs of the Norman baron on the throne of the East. The government of the Sicilian queen-mother in Palermo had been conciliatory; but there had been a small rebellion in 1169, for the national party felt that Margaret relied too much on foreigners, especially Frenchmen, a natural result perhaps of the papal alliance. We know almost nothing of the personal character of William II. He never led an army on the field, but stayed at home and planned grandiose schemes of conquest; and from the year 1172, when Manuel, who had again offered his daughter's hand, suddenly withdrew the offer, these schemes turned definitely against Constantinople. Such a situation had both unfavourable and favourable aspects for Kaiser Frederick; he may very well have reflected thus:—'Greeks, Sicilians, Pope, and Lombards are all hostile to me, but for the moment

[1] *Annals of Cologne*, p. 121.

Greeks and Sicilians are more hostile to each other, and will probably allow me time to beat the Lombards.'

Moreover, there was hardly enough common interest between the various towns in Northern Italy to enable their league to withstand the strain of several years of peace; in particular, the interests of Venice, the leading spirit in the Veronese section of the league or leagues, were beginning to pull her away from the purely Lombard section. And again Cremona, which, once imperialist, had recently been the foremost of the Lombard leaguers, was now becoming jealous of the restored greatness of Milan. Finally, Frederick had two strokes of luck; the pestilence had, by killing Frederick son of Conrad III., rendered vacant the Duchy of Swabia, and the emperor gave it in 1168 to his own son Frederick;[1] and it had also killed young Welf VII., whereupon Welf VI., in 1174, after offering in vain to sell all his rights in the Matildine lands to Henry the Lion,[2] made them over to the emperor in return for a life-rent; and, at a somewhat later date, under similar conditions, made over also all his Swabian alodial property. This definitely made the Kaiser, apart from his imperial claims over the whole peninsula, by far the richest landowner in Italy, and one of the richest in Germany.

[1] One of the unexplained puzzles of history is whether this Frederick or Henry (afterwards Henry VI.) were the eldest son. It is discussed at length in Giesebrecht's note (vi., 441). He quotes a letter of John of Salisbury (Letter 292, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, p. 199), which distinctly speaks of Henry as the second son. It is clear that Beatrix bore in 1164, at Pavia, a son called Frederick, and that there is no mention of any other son Frederick being born. Henry was born in 1165, and was crowned co-king in 1169; Conrad, the third son, was born in 1167; and a son Frederick is spoken of as 'Duke of Swabia' as early as 1168. But no explanation seems to be forthcoming of the passing over of the elder son in the line of succession. Not only was it by this time most unusual, but Frederick grew up to be a knight and a hero of romance hardly inferior to his father, whereas Henry was frail and delicate. Certainly, therefore, the most natural explanation would be that the former son Frederick died in infancy, and that a second Frederick was born in 1166.

[2] Henry in his later years probably regretted this refusal, which was prompted by stinginess; it would have been a disastrous thing for the Hohenstaufen if he had accepted the gift.

But only a comparatively small army, and one mostly made up of the contingents of the bishops, could be raised for the next Lombard campaign of 1174; no great imperial prince accompanied it, and Henry the Lion had expressly refused to send any troops. Frederick came with this army, perhaps seven or eight thousand men, besieged Alessandria, and after a six months' siege failed to take it;[1] a great Lombard army gathered to its relief. Germans and Lombards glared at each other at Montebello in 1175, but neither side liked precipitating the conflict. The Lombards perhaps did not relish the prospect of being crushed between Frederick coming from the north and Christian of Mainz coming north from Central Italy. An armistice was agreed upon, and is sometimes called the Treaty of Montebello; but, though many points of agreement were reached, some things yet remained for settlement, and both sides agreed to refer these to the consuls of the city of Cremona. Cremona was indeed nominally at the head of the Lombard League, but in reality had already made up its mind to support Frederick. The chief points referred to its consuls were, Should the Pope be represented at the conclusion of the treaty? and, Should Alessandria be spared or pulled down? The 'Award of Cremona,' also sometimes called the Award of Montebello, decided both these points in Frederick's favour; that is to say, the League should desert its ally the Pope, and should pull down the saucy fortress which it had called by his name. In all other points the Award was really a surprisingly fair one, and showed either the strength of imperial sentiment in North Italy, in spite of all that had come and gone, or else genuine fear on the part of the Lombards. Frederick, with unpardonable chivalry, dismissed most of his army before any actual peace was signed; but it seems that he had agreed that the towns were to enjoy their privileges as in the time of Henry V., that is to say, Frederick was to give up his claims on the alienated *regalia*, on the confirmation of the consuls,

[1] The weather was awful and all the horses died: 'Pro dolor, omnis eques pergit ubique pedes.' Godfr. Vit., *Gesta Fred.*, l. 909.

on the nomination of the *podestà*. On the other hand, the clause that Alessandria was to submit to Frederick's mercy meant that its inhabitants were to be sent back to their old habitations. As many of these men had been gathered from manors which were on Church lands or on imperial property, they felt that they were being 'reclaimed into servitude'; and the outcry which they made, together with some feeling of shame at what was an evident desertion of the Pope's cause, prompted the *rectores* of the League at the last moment to refuse to accept the Award. Also Frederick's weakness, now that most of his knights were gone, probably appeared to offer them a tempting chance of gaining even more.

Pavia, Como, and the Marquis of Montferrat rallied to the emperor, who wintered at the first-named place and resolutely sent to Germany for reinforcements. In particular Frederick entreated his Saxon cousin for help; an interview took place between them (probably at Chiavenna, and probably in March 1176), and the greedy Henry offered help—if he might have Goslar to round off his Saxon duchy.[1] Henry was no papalist; he was ready to take a cartload of Würzburg oaths, and he had no alliance with the Lombard towns. But neither had he the least sympathy with the old suzerainty, or the majestic claims, of the Reich; he saw his chance of extortion (from the cousin to whom he owed everything), and he pressed it ruthlessly. Frederick refused to give up Goslar, and Henry went back north in the sulks. His subsequent bitter hatred of Frederick dated no doubt from this refusal. Some four thousand Germans, however, including a large contingent from the Archbishop of

[1] We have no account of the interview from any contemporary chronicler who was likely to know the truth, but Arnold of Lübeck (p. 38) has invested the story with picturesque details (*e.g.*, that Frederick knelt at Henry's feet, but in vain), which have become the commonplaces of German romantic histories. There was a strong belief that Henry had been, during his recent pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in traitorous correspondence with Manuel against Frederick (see Giesebrecht's notes, vi., 502, 526), but the evidence for it is not satisfactory.

Cologne, did reach the emperor early in 1176, and he ought to have waited till these could be joined by the contingent from Pavia, which was on its way. But the Lombard army, three lances to Frederick's one, was hurrying to attack him, and, after a desperate battle, the Germans were beaten in May at Legnano.[1] St Peter and St Ambrose had not often got on well together, but when united they formed a strong combination. Frederick was thrown from his horse in the last desperate German attack on the *carroccio*, and was lost in the subsequent flight. It was not for some days afterwards that he reached Pavia in safety to find that his wife had already put on a widow's weeds.

The victors had bled badly too, and the results of the victory have been much overstated by historians. In Central Italy Frederick's cause was going very well, and even William of Sicily seemed ready to come to terms with the Germans. Not Legnano alone then, but the pressure from his own Church, perhaps also some change in his own convictions, induced Frederick to approach Alexander in October of that year; he sent some bishops to Anagni where the Pope was. There in November some preliminaries of peace[2] were concluded, which differed only in one very important particular from the terms of the Treaty of Venice of the following summer; this was that, at Anagni, Frederick was ready to buy his peace by the surrender of the Matildine lands to the Church of Rome; at Venice he recovered them for the Empire, though without express stipulation to that effect. We know a good deal about the negotiations that ensued between November 1176 and July 1177, because one of the Sicilian ambassadors, Romuald, Archbishop of Salerno

[1] North-west from Milan; not to be confused with Legnago in the Adige district. The *carroccio* and standard of the Milanese were dedicated to St Ambrose; the cause of Alexander was, of course, the cause of St Peter.

[2] The existence of a preliminary treaty, long suspected by historians, was only made certain by the discovery in 1886 of a copy of it in a contemporary hand in the Vatican Archives; see Giesebrecht's note, vi., 533, 534.

(1153-1181),[1] who was actually present at the final pacification, has left an account of them. Openly the Pope was obliged to say that any peace must be made in common with the Lombards and the Sicilians; secretly he was prepared to abandon both, for he knew that the towns had at Montebello been ready to abandon him. Frederick, even after the preliminaries, would undoubtedly rather have made peace with the towns than with the Pope, and he now sought to 'drive time' in the hope that the Lombard League might dissolve itself. But in the spring of 1177 Alexander came to Venice, and there was held one of the first diplomatic Congresses of the Middle Ages. Frederick had to stay at Ravenna till the conclusion of the final treaty, and to agree that Lombardy and Sicily should be fully represented at the Congress.

'The most triumphant city that I ever saw'[2] was already full of busy maritime and commercial life, and San Marco was already the chapel of an earlier ducal palace. But we have few data for picturing the exterior appearance of Venice when this Congress met. The city had long been in practice independent of either empire; but, of the two, there is no doubt that her sympathy had been more with the Eastern than the Western. Her great privileges of trade with Constantinople date from a grant by Basil II. at the close of the tenth century; she was already both the emporium for Eastern goods, and the great carrying power between East and West, already the sworn foe of Hungary, who protected the pirates of the rocky Dalmatian coast. Her great services in the Crusades had been well rewarded with a series of colonies in the Syrian coast cities.[3] But during the hundred years before the Congress she had found herself confronted with two difficulties, first the rising hostility of Pisa and Genoa both in Italian and Levantine waters, and secondly her

[1] *Annales ab anno* 893-1178, in Pertz, *Scriptores*, vol. xix.

[2] So Philippe de Commines, on Venice at the end of the fifteenth century (*Mémoires*, vii., 15).

[3] She got her 'quarter' in Constantinople from Alexius Comnenus; her first 'quarter' in Syria was at Tyre (1124).

own awkward position between the mutually hostile powers of Constantinople and Sicily. This last had begun to be serious before the death of Robert Guiscard in 1085, and on the whole Venice was constant to the cause of Constantinople until the middle of the twelfth century. Manuel, however, was not an easy ally, and, finding his terms too high, the city had in 1148 thrown in her lot for a time with the kings of Sicily. The result of this was that in 1171 Manuel had arrested all the Venetians at Constantinople and confiscated their property.[1] Before his death in 1180 he saw his mistake, and began to try to buy back the Venetian alliance by the restoration of the confiscated property. But it was too late; Venice had now a rooted grudge against the ruler, whoever he might be, of the Eastern Empire, and she merely put off her revenge until the Fourth Crusade. She had now an enormous line of communication to defend, and felt she could never be safe while there was a possibility of hostility at Constantinople. Whatever might be in the future, at the date of Frederick's arrival the danger from the East was still a very serious one.[2]

Frederick, who twisted and turned every way to avoid open submission, even tried to stir up the Venetian people against their doge, Ziani; he entered secret negotiations with the Pope behind the backs of his own embassy; but Christian of Mainz and other German bishops were impatient for but one thing, to end the schism. 'We will not imperil our souls for you any longer,' said Christian to Frederick, who was finally

[1] It was then that Venice raised the great loan from her own citizens, which Mr Horatio Brown (*Venice, an Historical Sketch*, 1893, p. 101) calls perhaps the earliest instance of government stock in the history of Europe.

[2] Her oligarchic government was yet by no means developed, though it was developing. The Great Council of four hundred and eighty persons, which was probably in existence for some years before 1172 (the date usually assigned to its creation), was still elective, the doge was still chosen by popular acclaim, and was still powerful. The last dynasty of doges, the Orseoli, had ended early in the eleventh century.

obliged to give way. The conditions were at last very fair; a fifteen-year truce with Sicily; a six-year truce with the Lombard League; Frederick's recognition of, and absolution by, Alexander; such Italian bishops as had been consecrated by antipopes to be left to Alexander's mercy, German bishops in the same position to be confirmed by Alexander; Henry, son of Frederick, who had already been crowned co-king in Germany by a schismatic, to be recognised by Alexander. Not a word was openly said about the Matildine lands, which Frederick continued to enjoy for the rest of his life. All the stories about the emperor kneeling in the porch of St Mark's, and Alexander putting his foot upon his neck, with the appropriate quotation from the Psalms about lion, adder, young lion and dragon, are later *Pabstfabeln;* a layman of course kneeled to receive absolution from any priest, but pope and emperor seem to have treated each other with profound and appropriate respect. When on the day of their reconciliation they proceeded from the door of San Marco, before which the first ceremonies had taken place, to the altar where Alexander was to celebrate inside the Church, the aged Pope leant upon Frederick's arm, and Frederick guided him safely through the enormous crowd which thronged the nave. Next day the Pope preached in San Marco, and Frederick sat as near as possible to try and understand the Latin words, which, however, the Patriarch translated into German for him. In fact they at once became friends, and remained good friends till Alexander's death. German troops, led by the absolved schismatic Christian of Mainz, escorted Alexander back to Rome, and a regular treaty was made with the Senate of that city, by which the confirmation of the senators in their office was to remain with the Pope. Alexander lived till 1181. Frederick stayed two months in Venice and enjoyed it immensely; let us hope they gave him a very splendid gondola to go about in.[1]

[1] The dates of events at Venice are not very easy to make out, but according to Giesebrecht (v., 818 *sqq.*, and vi., 538 *sqq.*) Alexander entered Venice on 24th March, and stayed with the Patriarch of

In truth it was not a great victory, if it were a victory at all, of Church over State; it was merely the end of a very foolish and unnecessary schism, and even during that long schism the Papacy had displayed a skill, a moderation, a loving-kindness towards its foes, that it seldom showed either before or afterwards. A Roman synod in 1179 confirmed the Peace of Venice in detail; William, Archbishop of Tyre, the great chronicler of the Crusades, was present at it and calls it a synod of the whole Latin world.[1] Indeed it was of immense importance, for it was there laid down that, for the avoidance of future schisms, a two-thirds majority of the College of Cardinals was necessary for the lawful election of a pope. But how far the world had travelled since the days of the Salian emperors! no mention whatever of any imperial voice in, or consent to, the election was made. Frederick had some diplomatic fuss with the next Pope, Lucius III., about Tuscany, but it came to very little, and all Italian eyes were really turned to Lombardy.

The League did, in fact, feel itself a good deal 'left in the air' by the Peace of Venice; and, as Frederick began skilfully to play upon its old internal jealousies, town after town began to fall away. But, all along, the emperor showed himself quite willing to accept, or even to modify, the terms of the Cremona Award. The main thing on which he now insisted was that the offensive upstart at the junction of the Tanaro and the Bormida should change its name from Alessandria to Cæsarea, and should

Aquileia in his palace in the Grand Canal. He went to Ferrara on 10th April and returned to Venice 10th May. While he was in Venice he sanctioned the ceremony of the *Sposalizio del Mar*, of which traces can be found in the eleventh century. He left Venice on 16th October. Frederick moved from Ravenna to Chioggia in the middle of July, entered Venice on 24th, and stayed eight weeks as the guest of the doge (Sebastian Ziani) in the ducal palace. The peace was signed on 1st August. Frederick spent the winter and spring in Italy, and did not cross into the Rhone valley till July 1178.

[1] Will. Tyr., xxi., 26. There were two hundred and eighty-seven bishops present at the council.

not be included in the general peace. This peace was signed at Constance, on the expiration of the six-years' truce, in 1183. Its terms were for Frederick a good deal better than those of the Cremona Award. The main things discussed were forms, the form of investing consuls, the meaning of the words *regalia*, *fodrum*, and such like; but the substance was this: 'We grant you, both within and without your walls, such *regalia* as you have held from ancient times or are now holding. You may elect your own consuls, but every five years they must seek confirmation from our representative and swear fealty to us. You may fortify your cities, you may keep the alliance you have, and may renew it when you like; every ten years you shall solemnly renew your fealty to us. When we enter Lombardy in person you shall pay us the *fodrum* you are accustomed to pay; you shall keep roads, bridges, and markets open and in repair. You may elect your own *podestà* (oddly enough these officials were henceforth elected from some other city than the one in which they were to be judges), and they shall have city assessors to help them in their judgments.'[1]

This peace was probably most welcome to all the lesser Lombard communes, and the greater ones were conciliated by Frederick's personal efforts; he resided much in Milan and in several other Lombard cities between 1184 and 1187, and seems to have won golden opinions from all sorts of people. And the peace lasted till his death and after; imperial officials decided cases impartially in North as in Central Italy; imperial domains were well cultivated, and the riches of Lombardy and Tuscany and Romagna steadily grew. Alone the Roman Court, which soon left the pacific policy of Alexander behind, hated and intrigued against the settlement. Finally, let us beware of one possible misconception. It was not a peace between Germany and Italy, not a German peace at all that was here made, but an Italian. Frederick and his son and grandson happened to be sovereigns in

[1] Probably we have not the complete text of the Peace (see Pertz, *Monumenta, Leges*, ii., 167-175).

Germany as well as in Italy, but any introduction of German soldiers or German methods of administration would rouse the new-found national spirit of Italy at once. Italy was proud of the idea of 'Empire,' and the Hohenstaufen bearers of the imperial title, so far as they could forget their German origin and cease to depend upon Germany, were as welcome as any rulers had been since the fall of the real Empire; but the brief reign of Henry VI. (1190-1197) nearly wrecked the whole business again, and that was because Henry tried to rule North and Central Italy as provinces of a Germano-Sicilian empire. The years of anarchy and dispute (1197-1216) loosened all Italian ties to any sovereign at all, and the bad old days of Lothair and Conrad III. seemed to have returned; then for a moment Italy almost looked to a pope (and he was perhaps the greatest of all popes, Innocent III.) as a national leader. But from 1216 many of the best elements in Italy rallied to Frederick II., the grandson of Barbarossa, a king who was to all intents and purposes a real Italian, a king, moreover, who may be said to have lost his imperial crown for Italy's sake.

Long before this Peace of Constance, the emperor had to undo the mischief done by one of his early mistakes, the excessive favour he had shown to Henry the Lion. This will bring us to consider again the whole question of the expansion of the Reich to the north and east. Our information upon the earlier part of the story, that is till 1168, comes from the *Chronica Slavorum* of the parson Helmold, and till Helmold ends is eminently satisfactory. The continuation written by Arnold of Lübeck from 1172 is by no means so trustworthy.[1] Henry the Lion was born in 1129, and became Duke of Saxony on his father's death in 1139. His alodial possessions reached

[1] It is in Pertz's *Monumenta, Scriptores*, vol. xxi., and there is an edition in the *Scriptores in usum Scholarum*, Hanover, 1868, edited by Lappenberg, re-edited by Pertz. Giesebrecht (vi., 301) is very severe on Arnold as a perverter of truth. We do not know for certain that the author was Arnold, Abbot of St John's at Lübeck, but it is probable that he was. For Helmold, see my earlier note at the beginning of Chapter IV.

from the gates of Hamburg to the edge of the Harz, and from the Elbe to the Weser. His northern fiefs, when he was at the height of his power, reached west almost to the Rhine, south almost to Halle; he conquered north to Lübeck, and east beyond Schwerin, almost to Oder-mouth. To these was added in 1156 the great Duchy of Bavaria, stretching north to the Upper Main, south to Tyrol, eastwards to Styria. In short, if you placed these territories on a map of the modern German Empire, they would cover more than one-third of it. Many attempts have been made, especially by those German historians of 'particularist' views, to whom the history of Brandenburg-Prussia has appeared to be the most important of all German histories, to represent Henry as the true German king, pursuing the only true interest of Germany, in contradistinction to the great Hohenstaufen, whose dreams were of universal dominion, and whose interests were every day becoming more Italian than German. Such writers have relied for their parallel, and with much force, on the extremely un-German policy of the Austrian Hapsburg family during the three and a half centuries of its occupation of the imperial throne. The parallel is, however, more apparent than real, for it can hardly be doubted that Henry the Lion, if he had succeeded Frederick, either by usurpation or by election, on the throne of Germany, would have pursued in South Germany and Italy a policy practically similar to that of the Hohenstaufen Kaiser. It is unlikely that Henry's forces would have sufficed for this task, as well as for the continuation of his Baltic policy; and the latter would probably then have been undertaken by some other North German prince, with whom Henry would inevitably have quarrelled.

From his fifteenth year (1144) Henry steadily pursued two policies, first the Germanising and Christianising of the Baltic coasts (and in this we must include the reduction to civility of the still half-heathen counties at the mouth of the Elbe), and secondly the grabbing at all the colonies founded by those of his neighbours who were doing the same thing. The latter of these two policies

spoiled much of the good results of the former, especially when Henry in his later years did not scruple to call in Slavs and pirates against his German rivals. Henry's greed of gold, of vassals, and of power were insatiable, and were actually, as Reginald of Dassel clearly saw, to the prejudice of the Reich. Also the methods, both of Henry and of his rivals, with such Slavs as were inclined for peace, were rough and greedy; Helmold relates quite a good answer of a Slav prince to a bishop on the subject of the extortions practised by Henry and other lay princes on them (1156):—'We have paid your Duke two thousand marks this year, and your Count two hundred, and yet they are fleecing us still; how shall we find time to become Christians, or wealth to build churches with? Flight is our only chance, but flight whither? Treat us as the Saxons are treated themselves, and we will be good enough Christians.' No doubt Henry was obliged to screw his tenants in the north to provide for his necessities in Bavaria, and for his journeys to Italy. In particular, he insisted on getting the nomination to, and investiture of, bishoprics into his own hands,[1] and did actually exercise the power of appointment even before Frederick Barbarossa unwisely granted it to him at the beginning of his reign; with any northern bishop except his own nominees, and with some even of them, Henry was sure to be at odds. He also grabbed at the lands of the now numerous Cistercian and Premonstratensian abbeys in the same region. When Adolf of Holstein founded New

[1] Henry had long contests with the two northern Metropolitans, Bremen and Magdeburg, over this question, and one fears that it was largely a question of money; the endowments of the lesser northern bishoprics with lands and tithes were very slender, and both Henry and his friend Adolf of Holstein tried to keep large portions of the tithes for themselves, occasionally even quarrelling over them. Bishop Gerold of Lübeck in 1155 was obliged to run to Italy to get investiture with his see from Henry (who was with the Kaiser at Rome), and was then consecrated by Pope Hadrian, to the great wrath of the Archbishop of Bremen when he got back; it was this journey that gave him good information about events in Italy to tell to his friend Helmold on his return.

Lübeck as a German city in 1143, Henry never rested till he had got it, by sheer bullying of his old friend Adolf, for himself; true, he governed it wisely and well when he got it, he developed its trade, and it remained devoted to him till the end. When Waldemar of Denmark conquered Rügen in 1168, destroyed the great Slavonic idol Swantewit and his shrine, and laid a tribute on the Rugians, Henry simply made war on Waldemar till he had handed over half this tribute to him.[1] He called in the Slavs against Waldemar, as he had called them in against Adolf.

As long as Conrad III. was on the German throne there was sporadic civil war in these regions, side by side with the frontier war against the Wends, Obotrites, and other Slavonic horrors. But there was one interval, the crusade of 1147, in which, as we saw, St Bernard allowed the North German princes to flesh their swords rather on their own heathen neighbours than on Moslem. It was then that the first advance since the time of the Ottos was made into Pomerania up to, and beyond the Oder, and the heroes of the job were Duke Henry, Albert the Bear, Adolf of Holstein, Conrad of Wettin, and the Archbishop of Magdeburg.[2] The Archbishop of Bremen, for the time being, had hoped to get out of this crusade a real revival of the Metropolitan power of his see in the north, but young Duke Henry would suffer nothing of the kind; he insisted on claiming for himself the investiture of the bishops in all the new-created or re-created sees in

[1] The Rugians do not use money, says Helmold (p. 77), but all the gold which they get by stealing they simply pile on their wives or store in Swantewit's temple. This temple was also an oracle and human sacrifices were performed at it.

[2] The crusade was supported from the east by Poles and Russians, who fought against 'those most cruel barbarians the Prussians.' The *Annals of Magdeburg* (*sub anno* 1147, in Pertz, *Scriptores*, vol. xvi.) speak of the Russians as being 'less catholic but having the name of Christians.' No very uniform success was obtained, and Lübeck was at least once ravaged by pirates. Indeed it may well be maintained that the crusade actually hindered the peaceable work of colonisation that had been going on for two decades.

Mecklenburg and Pomerania. The crusade had two parallel lines of advance, one by the Mecklenburg coast to the Oder-mouth, the other up the rivers Havel and Spree; and, at the end of it or soon after it, there was a real nucleus of a Christian state in Brandenburg. We have already seen that Albert the Bear had called himself Margrave of Brandenburg since 1136; we don't know when he got the town of that name, but in a document of 1150 he speaks of it, together with Havelberg, Werben, Tangermünde, and Salzwedel, as towns of his province.[1] At the end of Conrad's reign, Henry, who had claimed Bavaria before the Second Crusade, was busy trying to get that duchy, and was ostentatiously dissociating himself from his uncle Welf's rebellion; Conrad was actually fighting him when he died in 1152.

The accession of his cousin and warm friend, Frederick, to the German throne seemed to put the whole northern game into Henry's hands. He established a coinage and a custom-house at Lübeck; he opened its port to traders from Denmark, Sweden, and Russia; he took Schwerin from the Wends and began to colonise Mecklenburg; he stole the county of Stade from the Archbishop of Bremen suppressed the ancient anarchic freedom of Ditmarsh, held the Frisian amphibians to ransom. As for the Slavs, one of their princes, Niklot, when Henry urged him to adhere to the Christian faith, replied: 'You may worship this God of yours who dwells in heaven, but we will worship you'; in short, as Helmold[2] says, Henry 'factus est princeps principum terrae'; until, according to the same author, he became insupportable (*importabilis*) to them. The fear of 'Cæsar,' however, restrained them until things went badly with Cæsar in Italy, and then the real scuffle began (say 1166-7-8). Henry called in the Slavs, with the bribe of the restoration of all Mecklenburg, and with their aid in 1167 he took Bremen. He sent the same Slavs to ravage the islands of his own former ally, the most Christian King of Denmark, till these ruffians were fattened to bursting with Danish plunder and exposed

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 145, *note* 1. [2] *Chron. Slav.*, ii., 6.

seven hundred captive Danes for sale in Mecklenburg markets. Frederick (still his friend, remember) was quite right when he said that in 1168 the tumults in Saxony gave Lombardy courage to resist the imperial arms. Therefore in that year he sent warning to both parties to desist from civil war; yet on his return in 1170, Reginald being no longer at his elbow, he again sided with his cousin, and turned a deaf ear to complaints against him. Perhaps he thought that a duke who kept the once dangerous Danes[1] in such thorough submission, and could turn on or off the sluice of Slav aggression, was worth supporting even against better patriots such as Albert the Bear.

But there is a long German word *Reichsunmittelbarkeit*, meaning 'immediate dependence on the imperial crown,' and it was just this which Duke Henry was abolishing all over the north; he was making people who had been *unmittelbar* into dependents of Saxony, and therefore *mittelbar* to the Crown. He was pursuing a similar policy in his other Duchy of Bavaria; but there he had less opposition to meet, as there were in that duchy few counties which had been previously *reichsunmittelbar*. In Saxony, on the other hand, there were many; the lands of the Billung and Supplinburg families, to which the Welfs had succeeded at the death of Kaiser Lothair, were not very much more extensive than those of the Ascanier, of the Landgraves of Thuringia, or

[1] It sounds strange to English ears to hear, as we continually do from Helmold, and even occasionally from Adam of Bremen a century earlier, of the Danes in the character of 'Christian martyrs' at the hands of the Slavs (*vide supra*, p. 30, *note*); 'their kings are lazy and ungirt, and always feasting and drunken' (Helm., p. 216); they are always ready to make submission; they are racked with civil wars; they are quite unable to defend their islands against Slav pirates; the Slavs make light of them. The Slavs fear only the duke (Henry the Lion), who puts a bridle in their jaws and turns them whither he will; he speaks peace, and they keep quiet; he orders war, they say 'Here we are!' He thinks nothing of hanging their Prince Wertheslav, and yet Wertheslav's son Buggeslav will be quite ready to serve him.

of the great sees of Bremen, Cologne, and Magdeburg. Perhaps it was only Henry's disgraceful refusal to help him in 1176, which finally opened the Kaiser's eyes to the true state of affairs in the north; yet this refusal was not afterwards alleged as treasonable against the duke. Rather it seems to have been the refusal of his demand for Goslar which opened Henry's eyes and made *him* the aggressor. He now began to discover that his long friendship with the Hohenstaufen was against the traditions of his own house. His marriage with Matilda of England, now a wholly Alexandrine country; his own complete exclusion from all chances of the succession to the crown after the coronation of young Henry in 1169; the immense reception which he had got when he went (1172-1173) in state on pilgrimage to the Holy Land (where everyone was hot Alexandrine), and at Constantinople on the way back;[1] his soreness with himself for having refused the chance offered of the inheritance of his uncle Welf; all these things worked upon his dour temper, on his pride, and on his greed. His greatest northern rival Albert had died 1170, and, by the date of Frederick's return from Venice and Burgundy in the autumn of 1178, Henry the Lion was ripe for rebellion.

Arnold of Lübeck[2] speaks as if the Archbishop of Cologne was the aggressor with a raid upon Henry's territory up to Hameln on the Weser; but the truth seems to be that the actual explosion began when Henry refused in that year to restore some stolen property to the Bishop of Halberstadt, a venerable old prelate whom he seized, ill-treated, and imprisoned.[3] Cologne supported Halberstadt and attacked Henry's Westphalian lands. Frederick was obliged to summon Henry to a diet to explain himself;

[1] Few things illustrate better than Arnold of Lübeck's long account of this pilgrimage (pp. 12-31), both the self-satisfied magnificence of Henry the Lion, and the conditions of the nearer East towards the close of the reigns of the Emperor Manuel and King Amaury of Jerusalem.

[2] p. 47 *sqq.*

[3] The bishop died just after his release, probably from the results of his ill-treatment.

Henry refused to come, and refused summons after summons to diet after diet (1178-1180). Again Henry in his blind rage called in Slavs to stub up his own splendid colonising work, and again they did his bidding. Arnold, though anxious to say all he can for Henry, always lets us see that Henry could not keep the friends he made or gained with money; he quarrelled at this very crisis first with the young Count Adolf III. of Holstein, then with his own agents, tools, and 'ministeriales.' But not till January 1180 would the emperor consent to put him to the ban and to declare Saxony and Bavaria forfeited. The old Billung property in Eastern Saxony was then allotted to Bernard, son of Albert the Bear, and Westphalia to the Archbishop of Cologne as the 'Duchy of Westphalia'; the Crown itself resumed all the old Salian property in the Harz, and Frederick began to rebuild Harzburg; a great number of small men recovered the 'immediateness' of which Henry had robbed them. The Church gained enormously at the expense of the old duchy; Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Bremen, Minden, all got new, or recovered old, lands. Bavaria was given to Frederick's brave knight, Otto of Wittelsbach, but it was Bavaria shorn of Styria (now made into an independent duchy), shorn also of many lands which Welfs had stolen from bishops. Of all Frederick's friends and helpers, this Otto was the most loyal, faithful, and energetic. His death in 1183 was a serious loss for the Kaiser; both were then old men, and had been through much tribulation together. The house of Wittelsbach never again produced such a strong, brave man as Otto.[1]

Henry defeated the first contingents sent against him, and sought help, but in vain, from England, Denmark, and France. Frederick, in 1181, in alliance with the King of Denmark, took the field himself, and carried all before him, but Brunswick and Lüneburg, the centres of the Welf alodial property, stood stout sieges, though Henry seems to have

[1] From the year 1183 we lose the guidance of Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, the favourite pupil of Ranke. The continuation of the *Deutsche Kaiserzeit* by B. von Simson is painstaking and interesting, but it lacks the epic fire of the original work.

avoided conducting any of their defences in person. Lübeck was the last place to fall, and, when it surrendered, Frederick confirmed to it all the privileges which Henry had given it. Then he pushed up to the Slav frontier and proclaimed a land-peace. Henry at last gave way and knelt to the Kaiser at the Diet of Erfurt in November 1181. He had his alodial property, *i.e.*, the counties of Brunswick and Lüneburg, restored, but was banished for three years, and went at once to the court of his father-in-law, Henry II., in Normandy, and then on a pilgrimage to Compostella. But rancour never died in his heart; in October 1185, at the special request of Pope Lucius, he was allowed to return to Germany, and, though now fairly powerless, lost no chance of stirring up strife against Frederick. In 1188, when the gallant old emperor was pardoning all his enemies on the eve of taking the cross, when even the worst of the other rebels threw themselves in tears at his feet, Henry alone refused to promise to be faithful unless he were restored to all his former property and power; he meant to seize the crown in Frederick's absence, and so he had to be banished again. In September 1189, five months after the Kaiser's departure for the East, he returned contrary to his promises, and at once began the old game of grab from Brunswick and Bardewick. The young regent patched up some sort of half-peace in 1190, but his own thoughts were set rather on Italy and Sicily than on keeping order in the Reich. Only the death of the old duke in his sixty-seventh year (1195) brought comparative peace, and he left behind him a strong tradition of opposition to the central government which was to be followed, for purely selfish ends, by his younger son Otto as anti-emperor (1198-1218).[1]

No doubt the whole business had been a serious loss to the Reich. Arnold is probably right when he points out that the next few years were productive of much

[1] I cannot leave Henry the Lion without paying a tribute of praise to the excellent prize essay on him (Oxford, 1912), by Mr Austin Lane Poole, the son of one of the most distinguished mediæval scholars that Oxford has ever produced.

anarchy on the lower Elbe, Weser, and Trave; Holstein quarrelled with Bremen about Ditmarsh, with Duke Bernard about Wagria and Lübeck; Denmark began again to supplant Germany as leader of Christendom against the Slavs. As hammer of Slavs and Danes, indeed, Henry was irreplaceable. The next Danish king threw off his allegiance and overran Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and even Holstein; the Slavs recovered much ground, and would have recovered more had not they been at death grips with the Danes in those very provinces. At the opposite corner of the northern frontier the outbreak of strife between the young King of France and the Count of Flanders (1181-1182) foreshadowed the coming troubles of the next century, foreshadowed the day of Bouvines, and the ultimate loss of imperial influence in that low-country region, of which men still spoke as the Duchy of Lower Lorraine.

Outwardly, however, the German crown was at the height of its splendour, when at Whitsuntide 1184 the great festal Diet of Mainz was held. The city, half in ruins and unwalled since 1163, was too small to hold the thousands of knights and nobles that came from every frontier and every county of the Reich, and a wooden town had to be built on the right bank of the Rhine to accommodate this gallant crowd.[1] Frederick's two elder sons were knighted, and the beginnings of German poetry celebrated the event. One person alone was dissatisfied; Henry the Lion seems to have entertained, at the time of this diet, some hopes of reinstatement, and to have come hurriedly to Saxony; perhaps he was thinking of Bavaria, which Otto of Wittelsbach's death had left to a boy of ten, but all he got was a severe snubbing, and an order to quit Germany again. The Kaiser then departed to Italy, and during his absence suffered the grievous loss of his beloved wife (November 1184). She is

[1] A terrible storm of wind blew down several of these temporary buildings on the third day of the Feast, and frightened people a good deal, but did not seriously interrupt either the festivities or the business of the diet.

a lady of whom one would gladly know more; in an age of such marriages as that of Henry II. and Queen Eleanor, the affections of Frederick and Beatrix for each other were constant and beautiful: she had accompanied him in most of his campaigns, and shared not a few of his dangers; she had acted as regent in Burgundy for him, and it was probably there that she died. The month before her death a very remarkable event took place, which was to shift the whole pivot of European politics for many years to come, the betrothal of young Henry, eldest[1] son of Frederick, aged eighteen, to Constance, heiress of the Kingdom of Sicily, aged twenty-nine. We have seen how ardently both popes and emperors had desired for nearly a century past to make prize of the most flourishing kingdom of Europe, and how they had been foiled by the skilful policy of the Norman kings of Sicily. When the crisis now came and Venus was to give to the Hohenstaufen what they had failed to get from Mars, the popes ought to have died in their last Consistory, rather than consent to the treaty. Nor indeed did they consent, for they flung anathemas right and left; but Alexander III.'s next few successors were such feeble persons that Europe paid little attention to their curses. The greater popes of the next century had sharper weapons at their disposal, and ended by calling in the French; but the result was the final destruction of the civilisation built up by the great Norman adventurers.

William the Good, hostile to the Germans almost down to the Congress of Venice, had come out of that congress with an assured peace for fifteen years to come. He was the warm friend of Henry II. of England, whose daughter Joan he married in the year of the Congress. He had made the very best alliance an Italian prince could make, that with Venice, in 1172, and so had loosened his hands for that which he meant to be a final attack on the Eastern Empire. His services to the Crusaders in Palestine, if made always with an eye to his own commercial interests, were invaluable, and in after years it was his fleet that helped

[1] Or perhaps second; see above, p. 198 *note* 1.

to save for Christendom the few coast cities that were saved when Saladin took Jerusalem. In fact he wished to pose, and had very good right to pose, as protector of Latin Christianity in the East; and in this capacity his fleets ravaged the Egyptian coasts and bombarded Alexandria and Damietta (1174-1175). After Manuel's death and the civil war in the East that followed it, William determined to attack the capital on the Bosphorus; he made secret and gigantic preparations for this, the hereditary task which had occasionally been taken up by his ancestors during the last hundred years. He took Durazzo and Thessalonica, the second city of the Empire and fabulously rich, in 1185; his army by land and his fleet by sea then advanced on Constantinople. But his fleet waited in vain in the Bosphorus, for his army was unexpectedly defeated on the river Strymon, and Thessalonica was retaken. William had manifestly failed, and, though he continued the war in a desultory fashion till his own death in November 1189, he was never able to resume it on a large scale.

And he was childless. His heir was his aunt Constance, daughter of Roger II. In his grand schemes of Eastern conquest he forgot his duties nearer home; Alexander's death in 1181 deprived Italy and Sicily of a wise statesman, and broke up the halcyon calm of the last four years; Sicily lent no support to the next popes in their struggles with Frederick, and so the fatal mistake of the Hohenstaufen marriage was made. All patriotic Sicilians hated the match, and hated the barbarism of the Germans; the proper heir to take was Tancred, illegitimate grandson of Roger II., a man of some ability and of true patriotism; the Church might growl at the succession of a bastard, but there was the excellent precedent of the Church-favoured William I. of England, and after all the King of Sicily was Papal Legate in his own dominions, and could absolve himself for most things. But the aristocracy was divided, and the spirits both of municipal and feudal independence were only too likely to throw in their lot with the distant, and therefore probably less

effective, ruler. We know very little of the truth, for legend has gripped the whole story of Tancred's election in 1190, and of the gallant stand which he made till his death in February 1194. Long before that date the noble old Emperor Frederick, who might perhaps have conciliated the South, as in his last years he conciliated the North of Italy, had met his death on the Crusade, and, in the person of his terrible son, Henry VI.—

> 'cold heart and bloody hand,
> now ruled Sicilian land.'

But it is impossible to take leave of Norman Sicily without stopping for a moment to marvel at its success during the twelfth century. At first sight one would say that no materials for nation-making could have been less promising than those on which the Norman dukes and kings had to work. Three religions, Islam, Latin creed, Greek creed; four races, Saracen, Lombard, Greek, and Norman; four languages, Arabic, Latin, Greek, and French, the last, from the time of William II. at least, becoming largely predominant[1]—all these elements had to be combined, and yet were never united. Each kept its own characteristics, and each contributed something to form a type; but the races intermarried little, there was no common *patois* formed from the language, no 'uniate' church from the faiths. In the large towns the Moslem population lived in a 'quarter' of its own, and in another quarter lived the numerous and heavily taxed, though not otherwise oppressed, Jews. The Latin bishops were the only bishops; they were nearly always foreigners; but they were not allowed to bully the Greek clergy, most of whom, except in their monasteries, were married and worshipped after the Greek rite. When there was an earthquake, William II., who was at first severely frightened, recovered himself with the grim pleasantry, 'Let everyone go and pray to his particular God.' It is probable that the Normans themselves were very few in number, even

[1] The beginnings of French Court poetry found a very early echo at the Court of Palermo.

fewer than in England; and we know that the native population was also scanty, for the kings were always seeking to attract immigrants, especially for the rural districts. The desolation caused by centuries of raiding had driven the natives to crowd into the towns, and the conditions of life outside them were probably worse than in conquered England. There was a good deal of actual slavery, and prisoners of war were sold as slaves far into the Norman period.

So, though the same restless intelligence was applied to the problems of social and political life as in Norman England, there was far less good stuff for the kings to take into their service. There were, as in England, some alodial holders left, and, so far from introducing prædial serfdom, it seems probable that the Normans accepted the tenures which they found, merely presuming a feudal basis for all rents, services, personal relations, and landowning. On one thing above all the greatest stress was laid, a strict and adequate contribution of knights, from every vassal of the Crown, to the feudal levy. Towns were vassals of the Crown, and contributed just as much as barons and bishops and abbots. Maritime towns contributed each its strict *quota* of ships fully manned and armed. There was also a standing army, with a large and separate contingent of Moslem soldiers; nearly all the king's lifeguards were Moslem.

The central administration reposed, as in France and England, on the dual principle of a great court of tenants-in-chief, and a permanent committee of palace officials. The latter was all-important, and one of its branches was the famous *Dohana* (*douane*, *divan*) *de Secretis*, or Court of Exchequer, which controlled an estate of domain-lands only less rich than that of Henry I. of England. To each province the central court sent itinerant justiciars, who kept a close watch on the local *vicecomes* or sheriff, an officer almost exactly resembling in his functions his Anglo-Norman namesake. He accounted for rents of domain, for the *census* or quit-rent paid by all landowners, and for the very heavy indirect

taxes, to the Court of Exchequer. He was also in a small way a judge in his county court, and was assisted in his judgments by just such a body of *boni homines* as developed in England into the grand jury. The towns, if they had ever enjoyed any real municipal freedom, very early lost it, and were governed by *rectores* nominated by the central government. These, however, had assessors elected from the citizens, and in Naples there were magistrates enjoying at least the name of consuls.

Above all stood the Crown, with its Byzantine splendour and pretensions deliberately assumed and made into a reality by the Norman cunning and ruthlessness of its wearers. The king, like his rival of Rome, Aachen and Arles, was a spiritual as well as a temporal personage; like his rival of Constantinople, he was ἐνσεβής as well as absolute. It was sacrilege as well as treason to hurt him, and on great occasions he wore the dalmatic of a deacon, and carried the staff which was the symbol of his legation. Of Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger I. we know little but what their deeds in war tell us; but Roger II. and the two Williams left behind them enduring examples of government which were the wonder and the envy of the mediæval world. They left behind them also enduring examples of artistic taste which excite the admiration of our own days; but one who has not been fortunate enough to see Monreale and Palermo, must not presume to write of their splendours.

If Rome might in 1190 have growled at Tancred, she screamed, and with good reason, in 1184, at the proposed Hohenstaufen match. Not only did it utterly ignore the feudal claims, so often asserted and made good, of popes over Apulia,[1] but it simply put the papal states in the grip of a nutcracker. With Lombardy devoted, and Tuscany and Romagna in his hands, a Hohenstaufen sovereign who ruled also at Palermo and Naples would have a pope wholly at his mercy. From the Arno to the Garigliano is little over two hundred miles. Sicily, moreover, with its

[1] There is no evidence that Henry VI. ever took any oath of fealty to the Pope for his Sicilian dominions, or that he ever meant to do so.

powerful fleet, was the gate of the East, the starting-place for Syria and Palestine. Lucius III. (1181-1185), therefore, refused to crown young Henry as co-emperor; he first promised, and then refused, to readmit the few remaining ex-schismatic clergy who besought him to recognise their orders; he raised again the whole question of the Matildine lands; he supported a candidate for the see of Trier in opposition to Frederick's nominee. The next pope, Urban III. (1185-1187), refused even to give the boy the Lombard crown, and took other more spiteful measures against his father. He at once contested Frederick's practices of drawing the revenues of a bishopric during its vacancy, and of constituting himself the heir of all bishops for their private lands. He stirred up Cremona to a little insurrection, which Frederick with merely Lombard troops easily suppressed; he stirred up the restless Archbishop of Cologne and the city of Cologne;[1] he stirred up Denmark, England, and even for a moment France; and, in spite of a whole-hearted promise of support from the other German bishops at the Diet of Gelnhausen, things looked rather black for Frederick in 1186-1187. But the great marriage had already been celebrated at Milan in 1186; Henry had been crowned King of Italy at Milan by the Patriarch of Aquileia,[2] and Constance crowned Queen of Germany.

[1] The hostility of Cologne to Frederick seems to have begun with his imposition of a toll on the boats navigating the Rhine at his fortress of Kaiserswerth. Cologne was the first German city to get an extensive foreign trade (with England); one of its great gilds had a hall in London; another, called the *Richerzeche*, which had originally consisted of officials of the archbishop, was gradually getting control of the whole administration of the city, and was powerful enough at the end of the twelfth century to compel the royal *Burg-graf* to pawn the fortress, which he held for the Crown, to the citizens. The archbishops, who became Dukes of Westphalia in 1180, were obliged to make their policy conform to the mercantile interests of the citizens.

[2] This cruel slight to the see of Milan was the necessary result of the fact that Urban III., who was just elected pope and was a fierce enemy of the Hohenstaufen, had been Archbishop of Milan when he became pope, and that no successor to the see of St Ambrose had yet been appointed.

Henry was sent to ravage papal territory, and did it with such effect that once Frederick had actually to call him off; he was sent again and was not called off.[1] The German bishops at the Diet of Gelnhausen in 1186 addressed a strong remonstrance to Pope Urban against disturbing the peace of the Church.[2] Philip II. of France soon saw that his true interests, being anti-English, were therefore pro-German, and Urban died before he could excommunicate Frederick. This death was said to have been caused by the terrible news from the East.

The crusading army was annihilated in July, its king and its true cross were prisoners in Saladin's hands, and Jerusalem fell a few weeks after.

Gregory VIII. at once made peace, but reigned only two months; Clement III. (1187-1191) was just as peaceful, and in 1188 made a formal treaty with his Romans (who had driven out even good Alexander before his death), practically recognising the self-government of the Senate, but recovering much papal power in other ways within and without the city.[3] Complete peace was also made with Germany, and Archbishop Philip of

[1] Arnold of Lübeck, p. 103, says he ordered a bishop (name not mentioned) to be beaten and rolled in the mud; 'nothing worse had been done by any king since Decius' (probably meaning the persecuting Roman emperor of the third century).

[2] One fears, however, that all the questions between emperor and pope must have been reopened, and that another schism might very probably have been the result, if events in the East had not altered the whole situation for some years to come. Philip of Cologne had been for many years a most loyal subject of Frederick both against Alexander and against Henry the Lion; it was not for nothing that such a man threw down the gauntlet. And it all comes back to the old story; if the emperor was to be a real emperor, the pope could not be allowed to be a real pope; if the pope was to be a real pope, even in the Alexandrine, not to speak of the Gregorian sense, he could not tolerate a real emperor, hardly even a real King of Germany (see, for the details of the Diet of Gelnhausen, Simson's *Giesebrecht*, vi., 146 *sqq.*).

[3] *E.g.*, the pope was to pay the city militia, and might use it for defence of the papal states. Coinage was issued in joint names of

Cologne came to Mainz in March 1188 and humbly begged Frederick's pardon. Clement actually invited Henry VI. to come to Rome and be crowned co-emperor; but this invitation Henry was unable to accept, as he was to be left regent in Germany while his brave old father was girding himself for his last journey, that journey to rescue the Holy Land which ended in the waters of a mountain torrent in Cilicia.

It is not Barbarossa who still sits within the hill near Salzburg at a marble table through which his beard has grown, waiting till the time shall come for him to awake and redress the wrongs of the Reich,[1] but his grandson, Frederick II. Only at the close of the Middle Ages did German tradition begin to fuse the two men; and it was a ballad of Rückert's in 1813 that first made the *saga* popular. Our Kaiser Frederick found his last rest in the Holy Land, his flesh at Antioch, and his bones either at Tyre or at Acre; both tombs were then regarded as temporary till Jerusalem could be won back from the infidel.

We take our leave in 1190 of Germany as a Child of the Roman Empire not without grave misgivings for the future. In spite of heroic efforts on the part of a long series of high-minded rulers, she is not in the fair way to get a proper government. We can well understand the resistance of her princes to anything of the kind, because we are accustomed to a similar phenomenon in

Pope and S.P.Q.R.; the senators were to swear fealty to the Pope. From this time begins again a sort of unstable republic in Rome, which lasts far through the thirteenth century. There is often one person called 'the Senator,' perhaps elected by the Senate, and his duties are really those of the *podestà* in other Italian cities. Except in the time of Innocent III. he is independent of the Pope, and is often a 'foreigner' from some other Italian city. Rome was, in fact, striving to be as independent as Milan; there was in it the same opposition between nobles and burgesses as elsewhere, but the nobles were very powerful, and the gilds, of which we get only occasional glimpses, were very weak. It remained, indeed, the most unhappy city in the whole peninsula.

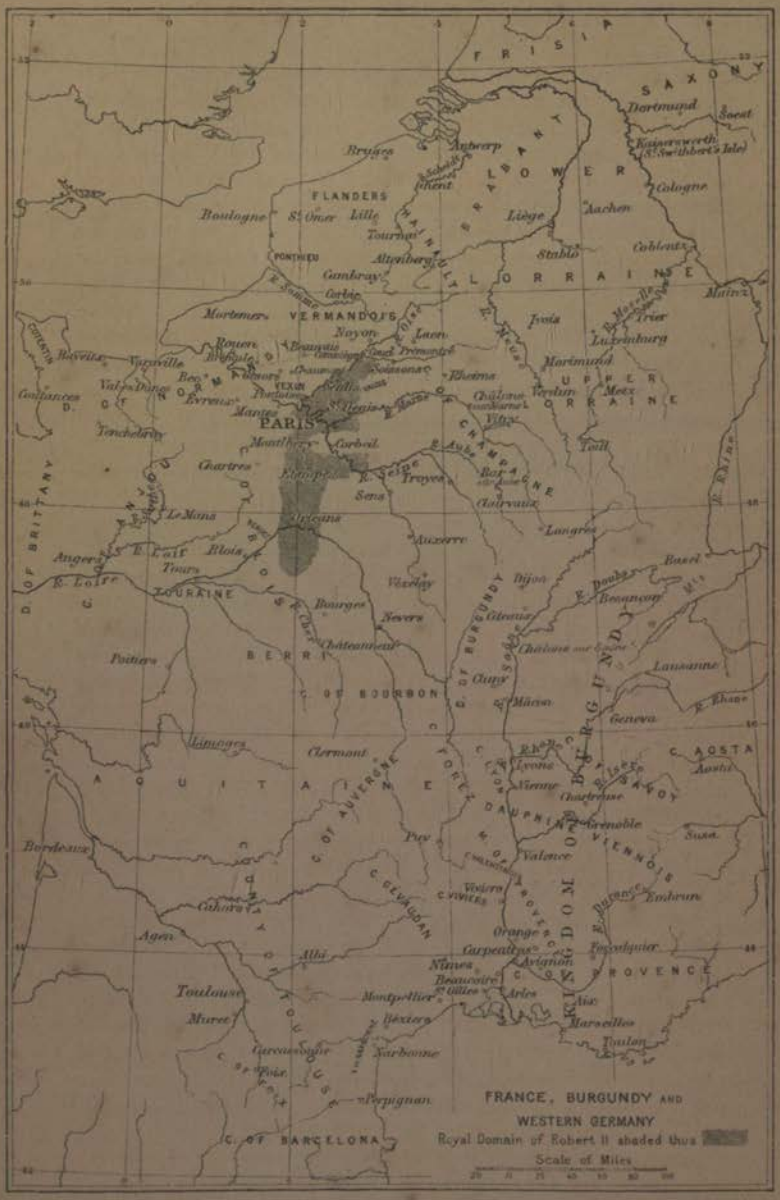
[1] See Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, ut supra, i., 71, 72.

the much simpler history of France, but we cannot wholly explain their success. Why should a Duke of Bavaria be able to stand up to a (strong) German kingship more successfully than a Duke of Aquitaine to a (weak) French kingship? Yet in France the Crown is winning, in Germany it is losing. Are we to seek the explanation in the mere size of the German dukedoms princedoms, bishoprics? Or was it mere ill-luck? was it because two great lines, the Saxon and the Salian, died out without direct male heirs, and a third, the Hohenstaufen, was soon to die out in the same way? Was it the connection, so often called by historians the fatal connection, with Italy and the imperial Crown? Was it the exploitation of the German Church by the Papacy? Was it the serious absence of a nucleus of royal domain-in-lands irrevocably attached to the Crown? Or, finally, was it the absence of any long-descended tradition of unity, the want of Roman schooling in the past? I can only propound these questions for my readers to reflect upon, for I cannot answer them. Many of the elements of orderly civilisation were more promising in Germany than in France; in particular the civic element. This, if less evenly dispersed over the country, was on a much bigger scale wherever it did exist; for instance, Cologne, Mainz, Speyer, Worms, Augsburg, Regensburg, and Nuremberg were growing at a rate far exceeding that of the growth of the French towns, and Germans were soon to be able to make a similar boast concerning Lübeck. Again in Germany there still remained, though there was not long to remain, a more free and a more active peasantry than in France. There was also a lesser dispersion of German than of French interests in non-national tasks, such as the Crusades and the expansion of England and of Sicily; there was a far greater task at home, one taxing all the energies of the northern and eastern populations of Germany, the task of expansion of the frontier towards east and north; there was also great expansion of the cultivable area inside the frontiers; population grew, and, as it grew, *Dorf* cleared and colonised

Markdorf, and this went on till the very close of the Middle Ages.

Yet, the more the map of France becomes, by radiation outwards from Paris, of one colour, the more that of Germany becomes *buntfarbig*, variegated, till it resembles a kaleidoscope; the more impossible, therefore, is the orderly development of a Nation-state. We must console ourselves by reflecting that this does not prevent the development of nationality; indeed, the nationality of Germany is much more clearly marked, and at a much earlier period, than that of France, which has taken half the Western and some of the Eastern world for its province. Germany, then, as a nation is to be saved, as Haüsser says of her, by her many-sidedness. There will be room inside her for a great many elements to expand, for a great many ideas to originate; perhaps more room than if she had been united under one head. A strong central government might very easily have suppressed the infant Reformation in the early sixteenth century. Again, perhaps, no one central government could have kept off, nay, eaten up, the *consuetus hostis*, as Gerbert called the Slav, so well as those margraves and those adventurers and missionaries and merchants, who, with sword and plough and prayer-book and pedlar's pack, penetrated ever eastward and northward till the utmost Baltic became a lake of the Hanseatic ships, and London's trade with the East came wholly through German hands. On the southern frontier, if we turn our eyes beyond the Alps we shall see the 'fatal connection' with Italy still going on in a shadowy fashion, but robbed after 1250 of all political meaning; it was not for that reason robbed of all intellectual and commercial importance, and the Brenner Pass in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must have been an interesting road for an intelligent observer to travel upon. On the western frontier alone the loss will be steady, and there will be little compensation for it; France in her deepest degradation, in the worst period of her English wars, can always steal property from the helpless Reich, almost without a

show of opposition; and unfortunately for the Reich, if not also for France herself, the mere ease of her thefts puts into her head the very natural idea that the Rhine, the frontier of old Roman Gaul, is also the proper frontier for new France. Who shall say that she is wholly wrong?


FRISIA
SAXONY
Dortmund
Soest
Kaiserswerth
St Swithbert's Isles
Cologne
Aachen
Liege
Stablo
Coblentz
Mainz
Trier
Luxemburg
Metz
Verdun
Toul
Vitry
Chalons
Rheims
Soissons
Compiegne
Noyon
Laon
Beauvais
Gournay
Tremoille
Rouen
Pontoise
Evreux
Mantes
St Denis
PARIS
Montlhery
Corbeil
Melun
Provins
Troyes
Bar sur Aube
Clairvaux
Sens
Auxerre
Langres
Dijon
Basel
Besancon
Chartres
Orleans
Le Mans
Tours
Angers
Blois
Amboise
Bourges
Nevers
Chateauneuf
Poitiers
Chatillon sur Seine
Oupr
Macon
Lausanne
Geneva
Limoges
Clermont
Tyers
Vienne
Grenoble
Susa
Aosta
Bordeaux
Pay
Valence
Embrun
Cahors
Agen
Albi
Orange
Carpentras
Avignon
Nismes
Beaucaire
Arles
Aix
Marseilles
Toulon
Toulouse
Montpellier
Beziers
Narbonne
Carcassone
Perpignan
Foix
Rhodez
Puy
Vivarais
Dauphine
Savoy
Provence
Burgundy
Champagne
Lorraine
Upper Lorraine
Flanders
Brabant
Lower Brabant
Hainault
Boulogne
St Omer
Lille
Arras
Tournai
Valenciennes
Cambray
Mortemer
Vermandois
Ponthieu
Abbeville
Gournay
Gisors
Evreux
Vernon
Meulan
Mantes
Dreux
Chartres
Le Mans
Tours
Angers
Blois
Orleans
Auxerre
Langres
Dijon
Besancon
Basel
Nevers
Bourges
Chateauneuf
Poitiers
Limoges
Clermont
Lyons
Vienne
Grenoble
Bordeaux
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Besancon
Dijon
Langres
Auxerre
Sens
Troyes
Bar sur Aube
Clairvaux
Provins
Rheims
Soissons
Compiegne
Noyon
Laon
Beauvais
Gournay
Rouen
Pontoise
Evreux
Mantes
Dreux
Chartres
Le Mans
Tours
Angers
Blois
Orleans
Amboise
Bourges
Nevers

ARGUMENT OF CHAPTER VI

Compared with German and Italian, French history in this period is simple; it is the history of a steady growth of the monarchy from small beginnings. The Crown, from ROBERT II. to LOUIS VII., relies upon two things; (i.) its kernel of royal domain; (ii.) its alliance with the French Church. The king at first is merely the weak lord of a small estate lying between Paris and Orleans, full of turbulent little barons; outside this there are in France seven or eight great feudatories, each far more powerful than the king. But the king has, besides, the old vague claim to be the successor of Charlemagne; of this he never loses sight; before 1180 Louis VII. is making this claim felt in almost every direction. The reigns are all long; the five of them cover one hundred and eighty-four years, an average of almost thirty-seven years *per* reign. All the kings without exception are men in one way or another distinguished for personal gifts of some sort; with one exception (PHILIP I., whose immoral life gets him into trouble with Urban II.) they are good friends with popes, with Cluny, and with Cluny's successor Citeaux, though St Bernard has a tough struggle with LOUIS VI., and occasionally has to scold the delightfully pious Louis VII. But there is never any serious breach with the Church, in spite of the two years' indecision of Louis VII. in the matter of the schism of 1160. No doubt this wise attitude tides the French monarchy over great dangers, the first of which is the Norman Conquest of England; Normandy, long friendly, had become hostile to the French Crown a few years before this, and this event stamps the hostility as permanent. An even greater danger comes with the marriage of Henry, Duke of Anjou and Normandy, to the heiress of Aquitaine in 1152, and this is enormously increased when the said Henry, two years later, becomes King of England; for he is already lord of two-thirds of French soil.

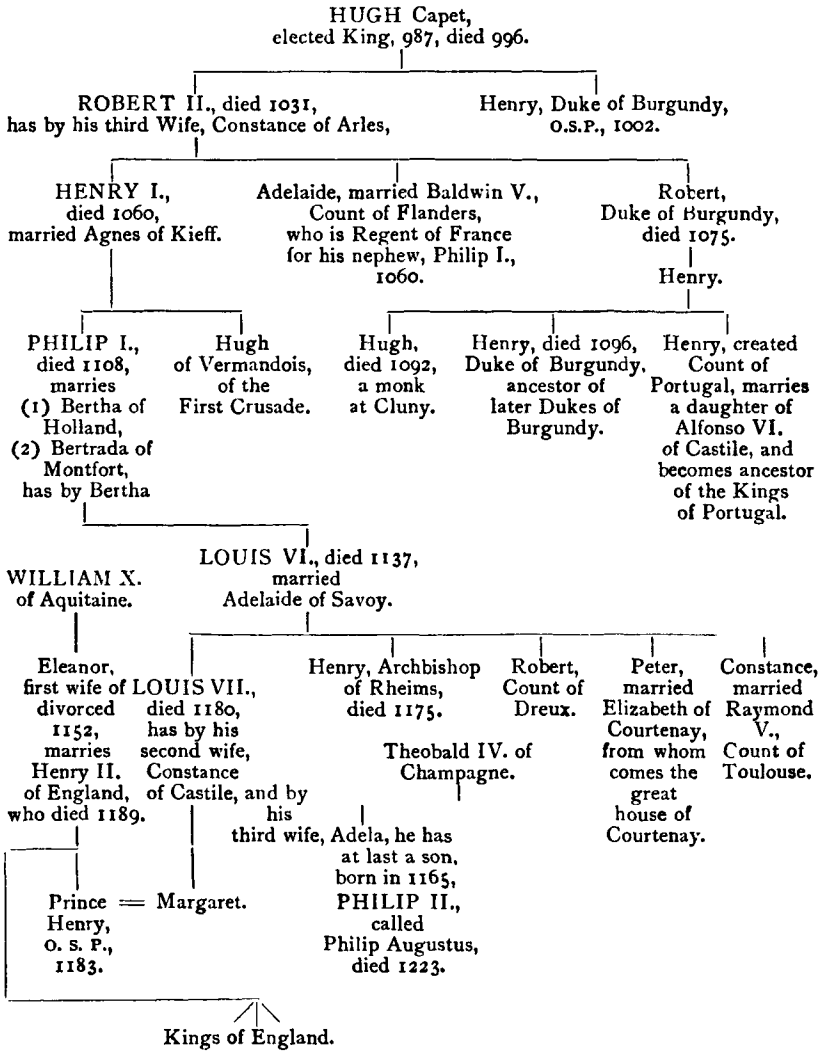
Yet the vitality of Paris, in the face of Rouen, Angers, and Poitiers, is immense, and the patience of the kings of our period is triumphantly vindicated, when PHILIP II. in 1205 tumbles the Angevin-Norman dominion into mere ruin. Of the other great feudatories: (i.) Aquitaine, till the date of its marriage connection (1137) with Louis VII., is contemptuously tolerant of the French kings; after the rupture of that connection it is at once hostile, and is drawn into the Anglo-Norman orbit; (ii.) Barcelona is becoming wholly Spanish; (iii.) Toulouse is serenely indifferent till threatened by Henry of England; then it calls for French help; (iv.) Burgundy, *i.e.*, the valleys

of the Saône and Rhone, is a foreign kingdom, and the name 'Burgundy' means for a French king the small duchy with a fairly peaceable centre at Dijon; (v., vi.) Champagne and Blois are each definitely hostile to the Crown when they are separated, and the greatest of terrors to it when they are united; (vii.) Flanders is at first almost invariably hostile, and is either moving in a German or an English orbit; from the last quarter of the eleventh century it becomes more friendly, but it is still a great source of danger; (viii.) Anjou would be almost as great a danger but for its inveterate hostility to Blois and Normandy, until its final union with the latter in 1144, when it becomes of course the *one* great danger; (ix.) Brittany is to all intents and purposes a foreign country.

A change, at first all to the disadvantage of the monarchy, comes over most of these great feudal states early in the twelfth century; their rulers begin to keep order each within his own boundaries; the pure feudal anarchy of the eleventh century gives way to a series of politic alliances and wars which make France look like a miniature of Europe. Such wars are often waged without any regard to the royal power, and the Crown can do little to stop them, but it grips closer to its alliance with the Church, especially with the great see of Rheims and the great abbeys; it receives and welcomes exiled popes, and gains European prestige by so doing. The popes on the whole do not abuse this hospitality much; they somewhat bully the French Church, but, far more, they use France as a vantage ground from which to exploit German anarchy and to ruin the imperial cause. Two movements, each largely French in origin, come to their service, that of the crusading knights and that of the Cistercian monks; the twelfth century is the age of the expansion of French influence in Imperial Burgundy, in England, in Sicily, in Palestine; it is also the age of the purely native French poetry, of the *Chansons de Geste*, of the deification of Charlemagne as a Crusader. And again the French king gains prestige by the spread of this spirit. The only two notes of opposition that are struck in France, on the lay and practical side, are (i.) that of the rising communes in the north and north-east, poor small things compared to the great Rhenish and Italian cities; the French kings are doubtful about helping them, because their clergy are hostile to this movement; and (ii.) the rise of free-thought in the growing School (soon to be the University) of Paris. Abélard is the protagonist in this, and he is defeated by St Bernard; but he will have successors, and free-thought, though severely curbed by the Church in the thirteenth century, will not be wholly killed. Finally, if the result of these hundred and eighty years seems disappointing, the ground has all been prepared before 1180, and most of the tools forged

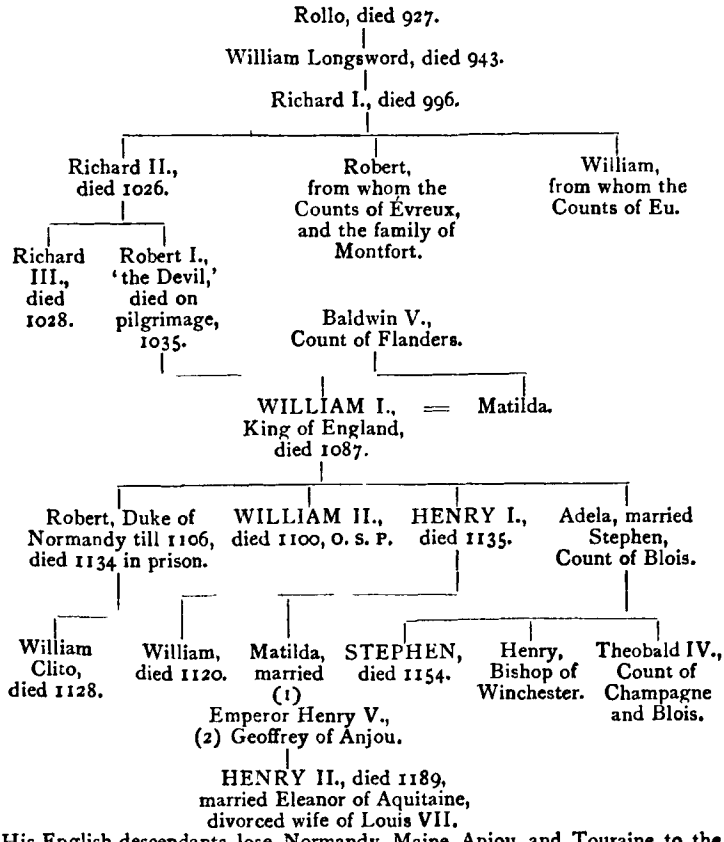
which will be used for the development of the beneficent centralised monarchy of the thirteenth century. France, though she has not yet nearly reached her natural boundaries (if indeed she ever reached them before 1795), is already a National State, and the eldest Child of the Roman Empire.

TABLE I.—THE FRENCH ROYAL FAMILY, 996-1180.


HUGH Capet, elected King, 987, died 996.
ROBERT II., died 1031, has by his third Wife, Constance of Arles,
Henry, Duke of Burgundy, O.S.P., 1002.
HENRY I., died 1060, married Agnes of Kieff.
Adelaide, married Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, who is Regent of France for his nephew, Philip I., 1060.
Robert, Duke of Burgundy, died 1075.
Henry.
PHILIP I., died 1108, marries (1) Bertha of Holland, (2) Bertrada of Montfort, has by Bertha
Hugh of Vermandois, of the First Crusade.
Hugh, died 1092, a monk at Cluny.
Henry, died 1096, Duke of Burgundy, ancestor of later Dukes of Burgundy.
Henry, created Count of Portugal, marries a daughter of Alfonso VI. of Castile, and becomes ancestor of the Kings of Portugal.
LOUIS VI., died 1137, married Adelaide of Savoy.
WILLIAM X. of Aquitaine.
Eleanor, first wife of divorced 1152, marries Henry II. of England, who died 1189.
LOUIS VII., died 1180, has by his second wife, Constance of Castile, and by his third wife, Adela, he has at last a son, born in 1165, PHILIP II., called Philip Augustus, died 1223.
Henry, Archbishop of Rheims, died 1175.
Theobald IV. of Champagne.
Robert, Count of Dreux.
Peter, married Elizabeth of Courtenay, from whom comes the great house of Courtenay.
Constance, married Raymond V., Count of Toulouse.
Prince Henry, O. S. P., 1183.
Margaret.
Kings of England.

For Genealogy of the Counts of Flanders, see Tables to Chapter I.

TABLE II.—DUKES OF NORMANDY AND KINGS OF ENGLAND.


Rollo, died 927.
William Longsword, died 943.
Richard I., died 996.
Richard II., died 1026.
Robert, from whom the Counts of Évreux, and the family of Montfort.
William, from whom the Counts of Eu.
Richard III., died 1028.
Robert I., 'the Devil,' died on pilgrimage, 1035.
Baldwin V., Count of Flanders.
WILLIAM I., King of England, died 1087.
=
Matilda.
Robert, Duke of Normandy till 1106, died 1134 in prison.
WILLIAM II., died 1100, O. S. P.
HENRY I., died 1135.
Adela, married Stephen, Count of Blois.
William Clito, died 1128.
William, died 1120.
Matilda, married (1) Emperor Henry V., (2) Geoffrey of Anjou.
STEPHEN, died 1154.
Henry, Bishop of Winchester.
Theobald IV., Count of Champagne and Blois.
HENRY II., died 1189, married Eleanor of Aquitaine, divorced wife of Louis VII.

His English descendants lose Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine to the French Crown in 1205, and the last remnant of Aquitaine to the French Crown in 1453.

TABLE III.—THE COUNTS OF CHAMPAGNE AND BLOIS.

Stephen I., Count of Champagne, died 1019,
succeeded by his cousin, Odo, Count of Blois, 1004,
Count of Blois-Champagne, 1019-1037.

Stephen II., 1037-1048.

Theobald III., Count of Blois, 1037-1089.
Count of Blois-Champagne, 1048-1089.

Hugh,
Count of Champagne,
1089-1125.

Stephen III., Count of Blois, 1089-1102,
of the First Crusade (he ran away),
he married Adela, daughter of
William I. of England.

THEOBALD IV., the arch-rebel,
friend of St Bernard,
Count of Blois, 1102-1152,
Count of Blois-Champagne, 1125-1152.

STEPHEN,
King of England,
died 1154.

Adela,
third wife of Louis VII.,

King Philip II.
of France.

Henry, Count of
Champagne, 1152-1181,
from whom come the
Counts of Champagne,
till Philip IV. of France
marries its heiress.

Theobald V.,
Count of Blois, 1152-1191,
from him come
Counts of Blois till 1391;
the County was then sold,
and in 1498 was merged in
the Crown by Louis XII.

TABLE IV.—DUCHY OF AQUITAINE OR GUIENNE.

In 845 the Counts of Poitiers inherited or acquired the Atlantic province to the south of them, which had been called the 'Kingdom' of Aquitaine, till about that date (or even after); but the connection was occasionally broken again till 950. Auvergne, and even Bourges (or Berri), were occasionally in the same hands, till Bourges passed to the Crown under Philip I.

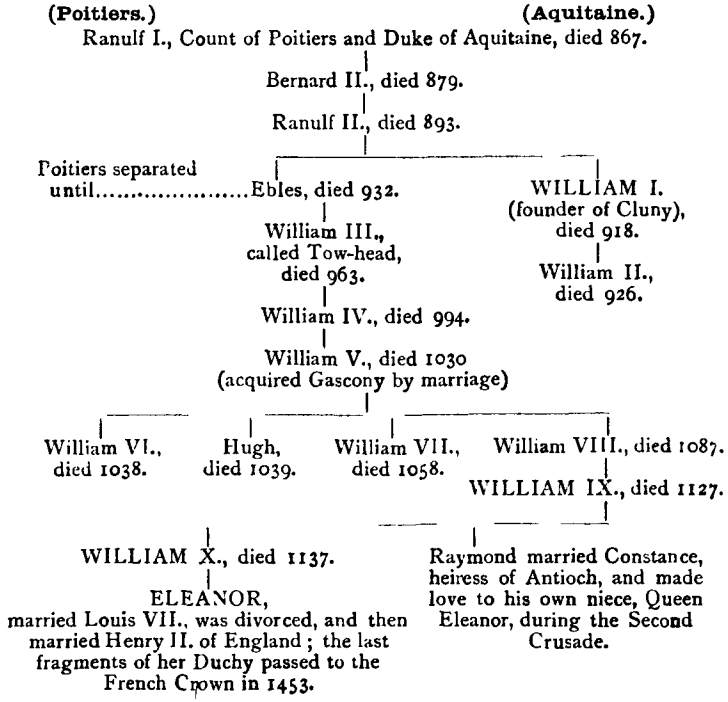

(Poitiers.)
(Aquitaine.)
Ranulf I., Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine, died 867.
Bernard II., died 879.
Ranulf II., died 893.
Poitiers separated until
Ebles, died 932.
WILLIAM I. (founder of Cluny), died 918.
William III., called Tow-head, died 963.
William II., died 926.
William IV., died 994.
William V., died 1030 (acquired Gascony by marriage)
William VI., died 1038.
Hugh, died 1039.
William VII., died 1058.
William VIII., died 1087.
WILLIAM IX., died 1127.
WILLIAM X., died 1137.
ELEANOR, married Louis VII., was divorced, and then married Henry II. of England; the last fragments of her Duchy passed to the French Crown in 1453.
Raymond married Constance, heiress of Antioch, and made love to his own niece, Queen Eleanor, during the Second Crusade.

TABLE V.—COUNTS OF ANJOU.

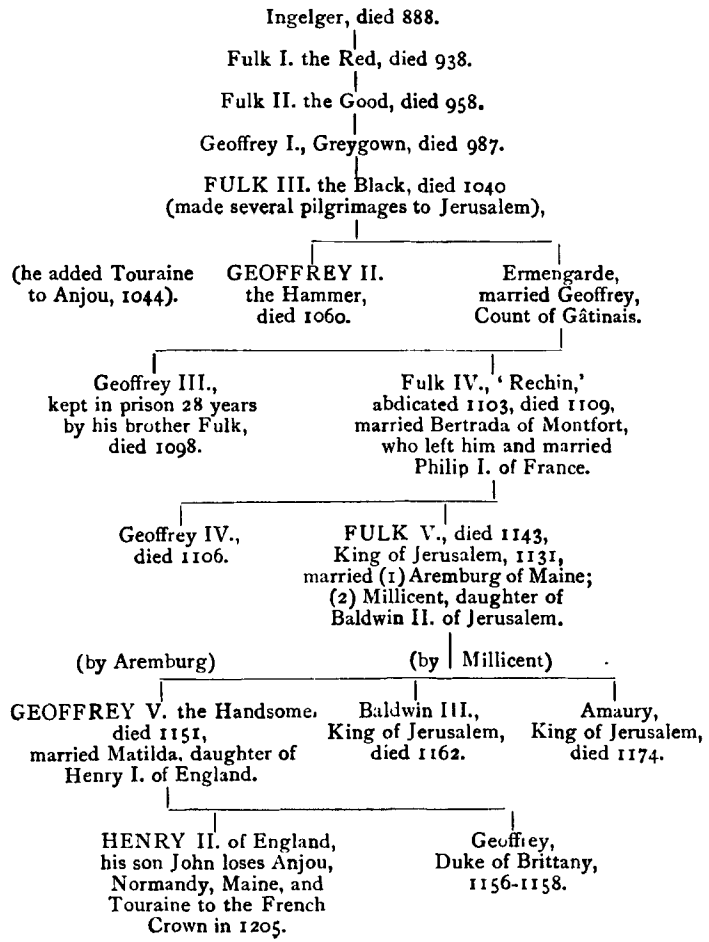

Ingelger, died 888.
Fulk I. the Red, died 938.
Fulk II. the Good, died 958.
Geoffrey I., Greygown, died 987.
FULK III. the Black, died 1040 (made several pilgrimages to Jerusalem),
(he added Touraine to Anjou, 1044).
GEOFFREY II. the Hammer, died 1060.
Ermengarde, married Geoffrey, Count of Gâtinais.
Geoffrey III., kept in prison 28 years by his brother Fulk, died 1098.
Fulk IV., 'Rechin,' abdicated 1103, died 1109, married Bertrada of Montfort, who left him and married Philip I. of France.
Geoffrey IV., died 1106.
FULK V., died 1143, King of Jerusalem, 1131, married (1) Aremburg of Maine; (2) Millicent, daughter of Baldwin II. of Jerusalem.
(by Aremburg)
(by Millicent)
GEOFFREY V. the Handsome, died 1151, married Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England.
Baldwin III., King of Jerusalem, died 1162.
Amaury, King of Jerusalem, died 1174.
HENRY II. of England, his son John loses Anjou, Normandy, Maine, and Touraine to the French Crown in 1205.
Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, 1156-1158.

TABLE VI.—COUNTS OF TOULOUSE.

Raymond I., died 865.

Hugh, died 919.

Bernard, died 875.

Raymond II., died 923.

Raymond III., called Pons, died 950, was also Duke of Aquitaine, 932-950.

William, called Taillefer, died 1037.

Pons, died 1060.

William, died 1088.

RAYMOND IV., died 1105, Count of Saint-Gilles, of the First Crusade, tries to get Tripoli.

(Princes of Tripoli.)

Bertrand, died 1112.

Pons, died 1137.

Raymond II., died 1187, Regent of Jerusalem, 1186,

Raymond III., died 1200.

Alfonso I., died 1148, Count of Toulouse, Marquis of Provence, 1125-1148.

Raymond V., died 1194, married Constance, daughter of Louis VI.

Alfonso II. (?)

RAYMOND VI., died 1222.

RAYMOND VII., died 1249, he was practically destroyed in the Albigensian Crusades.

Jeanne, married Alfonse of Poitou, brother of Louis IX., O. S. P., and then Toulouse fell in to the French Crown.

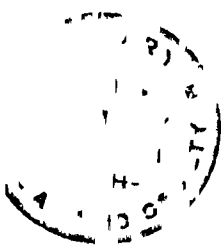


TABLE VII.—COUNTS OF PROVENCE AND BARCELONA OR CATALONIA.

Berengar-Raymond I.,
Count of Barcelona or Catalonia,
1017-1035.

Raymond-Berengar I., 1035-1076.

Raymond-Berengar II., 1076-1082.

Raymond-Berengar III., 1082-1131,
Count of Provence, 1125-1131.

RAYMOND-BERENGAR IV., 1131-1162,
married Petronilla, heiress of Aragon.

Alfonso II., King of Aragon,
Count of Provence, died 1196.

PETER II., King of Aragon, died 1213.	Alfonso, Count of Provence, died 1209.

Raymond-Berengar V., died 1245,
last Count of Provence of old line.

Beatrice,
married CHARLES of Anjou,
brother of Louis IX. of France,
King of Sicily.
His line goes on in Provence till it is swallowed
by Louis XI.

Note the separation of Provence in 1125 into two fiefs, the Marquisate and the County.

CHAPTER VI

FRANCE, 1000-1180

'FRANCE,' as a name for any particular area of Europe in the eleventh century, is an anachronism and a misleading one. 'Gallia,' the name perhaps most commonly employed by contemporaries, is almost equally misleading, for we find it and its plural 'Galliæ' constantly extended to include territories far beyond the limits of any historical France. Even the vague word 'Germania' gets some definite meaning earlier than 'Francia.' The dialects or variations of the vulgar Latin, which had been the speech of the Gallo-Roman population of Gaul in Merovingian times, were, it is true, shaping themselves into two *genera*, a northern and a southern, a 'French' and a 'Provençal'; but each genus has several species, and no accurate geographical line can be drawn between the spheres of the *genera*;[1] nor is either confined within the limits of the France of our days, for the *Langue d'oil* spreads up to, and in some places beyond, the Rhine, while the *Langue d'oc* overtops both the Pyrenees and the Alps, and spills itself sporadically on their southern side.

Speech, then, as a factor in nation-making, will not help us to make a 'France' on which to hang the story of the descendants of Hugh Capet; nor will literature, for in the eleventh century there is virtually

[1] The line is certainly not drawn latitudinally, for, while the Provençal dialect of Limoges becomes the classical and courtier's Provençal, the speech of the north prevails in both the Burgundies, and perhaps even further to the south-east, towards Provence itself.

none except the Latin, and none of the excellent monastic chroniclers of the eleventh century and early twelfth, until we come to Abbot Suger, have much conception of a French 'nationality.' They are full of the great deeds of those races, Normans, Burgundians, Frenchmen, and Provençals, which afterwards went to make up France; but these deeds are for the most part done outside her boundaries. It is perhaps only from the political geography and from the written history of a later date that we can form any picture of the France which disobeyed Robert II., Henry I., and Philip I.

To waste much space over the story of these kings, even if there were reasonable contemporary authorities for it, would be absurd; but what one does want to know is why they had so little influence.[1] The answer to this question can only be that the vigorous new life which Western Europe got, at and after the repulse of Scandinavian, Saracen, and Hungarian hordes, was, west of the Rhine at least, wholly local, and expressed itself in the local feudal castle with its *seigneur* and its garrison. At the close of my first volume, I endeavoured to show the rise of feudal society as being on the whole at the time not only a necessity but an advantage. It very soon ceased to be an advantage, and the greatest necessity came to be its repression. This was far more the case in France than elsewhere; both in north and south, utterly as they differed from each other in most respects, feudalism in its crudest and most anarchic shape, seized all the machinery of government, all the threads of life; and having seized them it mishandled them, and became a graduated hierarchy of tyrannies. A constantly shifting mosaic of fiefs, lay and ecclesiastical, stretched from the Scheldt to the Ebro, from Ushant to Marseilles. Land-

[1] M. Luchaire has done good service in warning us against underrating their influence; all spoke, if they couldn't often act, as successors of Charlemagne and vicegerents of God, and at one time or another all the great feudatories except Toulouse did them homage, or sent them soldiers or in some way recognised the dynasty.

tenure, justice, military service and defence, coinage, industry, transport by road and river, all fell into the hands of *seigneurs;* sovereignty was cut into little bits, and the king who 'reigned' at Paris was quite pleased when the Duke of Aquitaine at Poitiers took so much notice of him as to date his acts by the regnal year. These *seigneurs* did not make feudal laws, still less codes of feudal law, regularising or stereotyping their rights and claims; but they just usurped, by the simple process of private war or force, whatever they were strong enough to take in the way of lands, rents, tolls, services, or fines, and turned their claims to them into a 'custom.' And, in the absence of law, custom ruled the Western world.

Whether we look at town or country, the story of eleventh-century France seems to revolve round one process, the exploitation of industry for the benefit of some *seigneur;* and that *seigneur*, being no longer necessary (as he undoubtedly was in the ninth and tenth centuries) as a defender, becomes a mere nuisance. There is just this advantage in living in a town, that there are very apt, especially in the south, to be two, or even more *seigneurs*, and if so, they are pretty sure to quarrel. That any tradition of independence or self-government remained from Gallo-Roman times, even in the largest cities, is most unlikely in the north; it is quite possible in the south. In the north at least, bishop or count simply 'owned' so many bourgeois, and used their labour for his pecuniary benefit just as he did the labour of the serfs on his manors in the country. True, such *seigneur* might be the king, who, *e.g.*, 'owned' half the inhabitants of Paris (the bishop owned the other half); but the king had got to 'live of his own,' just as any other *seigneur* had, and he could only live by eating, drinking, and wearing the proceeds of the labour of his 'men.' As regards the king, indeed, he was so busy living, and had so little left to live on, that he had little time or wealth to spend on governing.

A narrow strip of territory from Compiègne to a point a little south of Orleans is the 'royal domain' of Henry I.,

and even this is cut up by the county of Corbeil. The Duchy of Burgundy, which had lapsed to Robert II.,[1] was given away by Henry to his younger brother Robert in 1032. It is humorous that we cannot be quite certain that a piece of land was actually on royal domain unless we can find a charter giving it away. Henry I. acquired at the end of his reign half of the county of Sens, and Philip I. in 1100 added the county of Bourges.[2] It is true that this shrunken domain comprised two cities, Paris and Orleans, of the very greatest importance; true also that the alliance between the Crown and the great archbishopric of Rheims was enduring, and a source of real power. There were some other bishoprics and abbeys upon whose fidelity the Crown could generally count, St Martin of Tours,[3] Beauvais, Châlons, Langres, Laon; and there were several comparatively powerful counts such as Auxerre, Nevers, Bourbon, who held directly from the king without the intervention of any of the greater feudatories. But almost all round the domain itself lay the dominions of the ever-hostile house of Blois and Champagne; a little further off lay the county of Flanders, the duchy of Normandy, the county of Anjou, each of them infinitely richer in men, castles, and money, than their nominal overlord. Further away still the Duke (occasionally the 'King') of Brittany forgot his ties to any 'France' as completely as the Duke of Aquitaine or the Count of Toulouse, and a good deal more than the (most distant) Count of Barcelona.

Yet Robert and Henry during their whole reigns, and

[1] *Viz.*, on the extinction of the first Capetian line of dukes in 1002; this line had dated from Hugh the Great, who gave Burgundy to his younger son; Prince Henry held it from 1015 till he became King.

[2] Sens was a place of great importance, not only for its archbishopric, but from the fact that the rod of Moses was discovered there early in the eleventh century, which, says Glaber (iii., vi., 19), made the Senonese very uppish, *conceperunt pro tanto beneficio nimiam insolentiam.* But there were several other rods of Moses.

[3] But St Martin was very much at the mercy of the Count of Blois until Black Fulk and Geoffrey the Hammer tore the county of Touraine from the House of Blois in 1032 and 1044, after which he was, of course, at the mercy of Anjou.

Philip for some thirty years of his forty-eight, were active and, so far as one can see, fairly able kings. If the churchmen who wrote history called Robert a saint, it was probably because he inaugurated the practice of burning heretics, and, though only after a long struggle, gave up a wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, at their bidding; if they heaped every name of abuse upon Philip it was because of his adultery, because he abstained from the First Crusade, and because he resisted the introduction of the ideas of Hildebrand, the triumph of which would have been fatal to his influence over the French Church.

In detail there is very little to record of these three long reigns, which fill more than a century. Robert had been educated by Gerbert at Rheims, and was devoted to learning and the Church, but he was no monk-king, a good deal less so than Louis 'the Pious,' son of Charlemagne. He stoutly prevented the Duchy of Burgundy from following the fate of the county of the same name, and lapsing to a vassal of Germany:[1] it cost him ten years of war to make good his claims, but he won at last; Normandy, not more loyal than shrewd under Dukes Richard II. and Richard III., was his best ally in the Burgundian war. He was equally successful in saving Flanders, for, after acting in common with Henry II. of Germany against the Count Baldwin of the day, he ended by a marriage treaty with the latter, which began to draw the county into the French sphere of influence. Nearer home he was less successful; if he continued as he always did, bravely but with varying fortune, to hammer the robber donjons of the petty vassals on the frontier of his domain, he looked on in impotence at the incessant quarrels between Normandy, Anjou, and the most impudent tyrant of the century, Odo of Blois and Chartres, and allowed the latter to occupy Champagne, which fell

[1] The actual lapse of the 'kingdom' (including the county) of Burgundy to Conrad II. was not till 1033, but throughout the reign of Rudolf III. it was clear what was going to happen, and Robert was as powerless to interfere in the south-east (see above, p. 43) of France as in Italy.

vacant in 1019. As for the south, with Aquitaine and Toulouse Robert had nothing to do, and never visited them except once as a pilgrim to offer at their shrines;[1] and, when the Lombards or the Provençals wanted a champion against Conrad, it was to Blois or Poitiers that they sent to seek him, and the King of France had nothing to say in the matter.

The simple-minded popes of Robert's days had not yet conceived it to be the first duty of the Church to throw off all lay authority, nor had they called all royal nominations to bishoprics 'simony,' and Robert, though he had occasional quarrels with chapters, managed to nominate with fair ease to such bishoprics as lay either in his royal domain or outside the influence of any great vassal of the Crown; a Duke of Normandy or of Aquitaine did the same in his own sphere of influence. That bishoprics and abbeys were often sold and sold to unworthy persons is perfectly clear; the Church was being rapidly feudalised, and even a saintly bishop like Fulbert of Chartres (1007-1029), the most learned of Gerbert's pupils, spent half his time in diplomatic missions for his king, or in trying to keep the peace among the greater and lesser feudality that surrounded him. None of the French bishops either of north or south, with the possible exception of Rheims, possessed anything like the power or riches of their German contemporaries. The real pivot of religion west of the Rhine was the Abbot of Cluny. Since its foundation in 910 Cluny had been yearly growing in power, and this power was wielded for the space of one hundred and eighteen years by two men, Odilo (990-1049) and Hugh (1049-1108). It must have been a healthy post, for there were only six successive heads of the congregation in one hundred and ninety-eight years! These men were ever on the move over Western Europe, and though they could scold bad kings roundly on occasions, and though Hugh was to be the friend and often the champion of Hildebrand, they used their vast influence

[1] With his third wife, a lady from Arles, he visited Aquitaine in 1010 to venerate the newly discovered head of John Baptist, and was received by the duke with royal honours.

almost wholly for peace and order. They were the preachers of the 'Peace of God' and 'Truce of God, evidence of which can be found in existence before the death of Robert; Robert had an interview on the subject with the good Emperor Henry II. as early as 1023.

King Robert burnt fourteen heretics at Orleans in 1022. Who were these persons and what was their heresy? Glaber[1] says they asserted the eternity of heaven and earth, and denied future rewards and punishments. He adds[2] that they went exulting to their death, though, when actually in the flames, some repented too late to be rescued. It seems tolerably clear that they held some form of Manichæism, some foreshadow of that later 'Catharism' which was exterminated in Southern France by the Albigensian crusades in the thirteenth century. It was not a 'heresy of the schools' or of learned men, but an extreme asceticism, born perhaps of the misery of the mediæval world, or even a descendant of the oldest heresy of all, Gnosticism: it probably penetrated France from the near East by way of Italy, where it was to be rampant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The faith of a feudal baron, in eleventh-century France, was of that robust and *naïf* character, which confided in his local saint or relic to get him out of any scrape, which could atone for any crime by pilgrimage or by endowment of a church. Fulk the Black of Anjou, Robert's contemporary (987-1040) railed at his saints like a madman when they did not please him; he murdered, robbed, and burned churches on a grand scale; but three times he made the incredibly difficult and dangerous pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and had himself dragged and flogged through its streets. To such a person[3] heresy would be the most odious of all crimes; if everything his priests taught was not absolutely true,

[1] iii., 27. [2] iii., 31.

[3] I could have dwelt at length upon the amazing character and exploits of the founders of the great House of Anjou, especially upon those of this Fulk and his son Geoffrey the Hammer; but they have been painted with such perfect art and such accuracy of outline

what would his chances be in the next world? Like lords, like people; the first persecutions for heresy (and Robert's actually seem to have been the first)[1] were more popular with the *plebs* than with the learned churchmen, who in one or two instances were shocked by the burnings.

Henry I., who had been crowned in 1027 after his elder brother's death, succeeded his father in 1031, reigned twenty-nine years, and began with a civil war with his younger brother. If Robert was a saint, Henry was before all things a soldier, a sort of foreshadow of his grandson, Louis VI. He fought like a lion on Norman battlefields, and he never ceased fighting all his life. The Norman Duke, Robert 'the Devil,' helped him to his first victories; for this he had to pay Robert by the cession of that county of Vexin, which was to be such a source of contention between France and the Anglo-Norman kings for a century to come. He protected the childhood of William the Conqueror,[2] and fought for him against rebel Normans at Val-es-dunes (1047). But that was the last fruit of the friendship between Paris and Rouen. Henry had good cause to rejoice when Geoffrey 'the Hammer' of Anjou (1040-1060) tore Touraine from the House of Blois in 1044,[3] and rejoiced also, though perhaps with less cause, when Geoffrey conquered Maine in 1051; but when the boy William, in his fifteenth year, began to dispute that conquest, it was surely a mistake of the French Crown to

by Miss Norgate in her *England under the Angevin Kings*, that it would be futile for me to say anything about them. The authoress may indeed be proud when M. Luchaire cites her work as an authority of the first class.

[1] Though Glaber speaks vaguely of heretics killed and burned in Italy (ii., 12).

[2] Glaber (iv., vi., 20) admits that the succession to the Norman duchy occasionally went to illegitimate sons, but 'so did the succession to the patriarchate of Jacob.' It is interesting to observe, in a book written before 1050, the Normans already treated as the spoiled children of the Church, to whom anything was lawful.

[3] St Martin undoubtedly helped that most unclerical person Geoffrey, thinks Glaber (v., ii., 19). This shows how universal was the hatred for the House of Blois.

side with Anjou against its oldest ally, Normandy; hence came Henry's defeats at Mortemer in 1054 and Varaville four years later. William was already casting his eyes across the Straits of Dover when Henry died, and, if he should get over them, it would be with no goodwill in his heart towards his French suzerain. In the long contest with Normandy, Henry no doubt lost much of the vague influence which his father and grandfather had had in the rest of old France; the Norman war absorbed all his energies.

If Henry looked eastwards, it was a Germany infinitely more powerful than any his father had watched that met his eyes. Conrad II., though his rule was constantly disputed in the kingdom of Burgundy, was well able to utilise that acquisition as a stepping-stone to Lombardy; Henry III. was master of both, made a close friendship with Cluny, and took his second wife from the Court of Aquitaine. And it says something for the pluck as well as the ability of Henry of France, that he was able to keep his German namesake continually anxious by interfering in the turbid politics of Lorraine, and even claiming the whole of that duchy as part of the old Caroling dominions. Twice the sovereigns had interviews on this subject at Ivois; on the second occasion the German challenged the Frenchman to single combat, which the latter prudently avoided by 'withdrawing himself' hastily by night.[1]

Perhaps no French sovereign had less real power than Henry I.; and it was at least something if he kept up, in such an age, the old claims to power. Before his death in 1060 the first batteries of the papal artillery had been opened by Hildebrand against the old constitutions of Europe, civil and ecclesiastical. One does not suppose that Henry foresaw what was coming, but he at least suffered no great breach to be made in his walls in his lifetime. He was freely accused of being a simoniac and a favourer of married clerks; nay, also, of protecting the famous heretic Berengar, canon and schoolmaster of

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 60, *note* 2. True, this story rests only on that statement of the famous liar, Lambert of Hersfeld (1056).

Tours, who openly attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation,[1] and against whom a council in 1050 thundered terrible curses. But a bad precedent was established in 1049 when Leo IX., who had been Bishop of Toul, came with the goodwill of the emperor to preside over the Council of Rheims; Henry dared not forbid the holding of such a council, but he forbade the ecclesiastical vassals of his domain to attend it, and many of them obeyed him; the council deposed some prelates who had, or were said to have, bought their sacred offices. Seven years later Hildebrand came as Papal Legate to France, deposed a few more bishops, and made a great deal of bad blood between monks and secular priests, but he either did not dare, or did not think it expedient, to say anything against Henry's steadily continued practice of selling ecclesiastical offices. The real attack was going to be directed against the far more worldly churches of Italy and Germany, and Hildebrand shrewdly perceived that pious and ignorant France, with its weak Crown and not over-strong Church, with its traditional friendship between King and Cluny, was to be spared as much as possible. It was for this reason that in the years to come the heaviest papal guns were rather planted upon French soil, with their muzzles to the east, than directed against French society. Philip I. was an infinitely more scandalous person, both as adulterer and simoniac, than Henry IV. or Henry V. of Germany; but it suited the papal book to chastise him mainly with words and bulls and 'spiritual weapons.'

Philip, whose Greek name came from the strange marriage of his father with a Russian princess, had been crowned in his father's lifetime (1059), according to the wise custom of the early Capetian kings, and was only eight when in the next year King Henry died; his uncle,

[1] Berengar, who lived till 1088, owed his early safety more to his lord Geoffrey of Anjou than to King Henry, and his later safety to his willingness to recant upon conditions, perhaps also to the unwillingness of Gregory VII. to discuss abstract points of theology or proceed to extremities against a Frenchman. Our own Lanfranc, when Abbot of Bec, was the protagonist against Berengar.

Count Baldwin V. of Flanders acted as regent.[1] Philip early developed a monstrous obesity which descended to his son, but until his last decade it does not appear to have prevented his activity. We may suppose that he was little pleased when in his fifteenth year he learned that Baldwin's son-in-law, William of Normandy, had been crowned as king at Westminster. This ill-will deepened into bitter hatred, and for forty years Philip was able to foster incessant Norman revolts against three successive kings of England. In 1076 Philip actually saved Brittany from being swallowed by William, and it was in one of their struggles in the Vexin that our great Conqueror met his death at the burning of Mantes. Philip's own throne was once seriously endangered by the alliance of William Rufus with Aquitaine; the Red King laid siege to places as near to Paris as Pontoise and Chaumont, but failed to take them. The throne was also constantly endangered by the small feudality with their robber towers (like that of Montl'héry) on the road between Paris and Orleans, but Philip and his far abler son, afterwards Louis VI., waged incessant, and on the whole successful, war against these; hardly a journey from manor to manor of royal domain but cost them a fight of some sort. Before his death Philip had recovered the Vexin from Normandy, had clutched Corbeil—a rich monastery and trading centre —clutched part of the counties of Vermandois and Valois, the whole of the county of Sens (where was perhaps the second richest archbishopric of France), and the county of Bourges, which brought him well across the Loire. One is tempted to suggest that he could hardly have been the weak sensualist which the monks represented him to be.

More than this, he had stood up, in defence of things, some defensible, some indefensible, to a Gregory VII. and an Urban II. For in his reign the papal attack upon

[1] There is some, though not conclusive, evidence that the French feudatories did homage to Baldwin as regent, and even recognised him as heir-presumptive, in spite of the fact that Henry I. had left sons besides Philip. (See Luchaire, *Institutions Monarchiques*, 2nd ed., 1891, i., 75.)

simony and clerical marriage developed into the full-blown Contest of Investitures. In this matter Philip could count, if not upon the active support, at least upon the hearty agreement of the great feudal houses; for all lay powers were equally touched when a pope said that not one parish priest should be nominated by his squire, not one abbot by the royal or ducal founder of his abbey, not one bishop by his king; that no homage should be paid to any layman for the vast lands owned by the clergy; that any priest, abbot, or bishop accepting lay nomination was a heretic, and that the sacraments which he pretended to adminster were of no worth; finally when, as in Germany, the sanctions attached by the Pope to disobedience were declared to be the deposition of the offending lay sovereign and the release of his subjects from their allegiance. Against France, as I have just said, these papal claims were not pushed to their fullest extent by Gregory VII.; they were very nearly so pushed by Urban II. Papal legates, especially Hugh of Die, were far more violent than popes themselves, and were often rebuked for, and restrained from, extreme measures. The French clergy, from the Archbishop of Rheims downwards, protested energetically when the legates not only deprived bishops, but nominated and consecrated others in their place; Rheims after a long struggle was actually deprived in 1081, but there were few similar instances before Gregory's death, and in Normandy William I. retained complete control of the investitures, and the Pope acquiesced therein. Through it all King Philip kept up and extended the influence of the Crown over outlying abbeys and bishoprics even in the south; and the Duke of Aquitaine, who after all was in very much the same boat as the king, was quite delighted when the king forbade him to allow Poitiers to be made the scene in 1097 and 1100 of great ecclesiastical councils called to denounce simony and to excommunicate Philip. The legates did manage to hold the councils, but very few bishops or abbots came, and the legates were threatened with popular violence.

What Gregory would have said to Philip if the great

scandal of 1092 had happened in his lifetime may well be doubted. It is pretty certain that the king took money as the price of his nominations to ecclesiastical office, and continued to do so until his death; Gregory openly threatened him with excommunication, interdict, deprivation, on that account, but it was reserved for Urban to carry the first of these threats into force after Philip had run away with (or been run away with by) the Countess of Anjou, who deliberately left her husband to come and live with him. In that Council of Clermont (1095) whereat the Crusade was started, and in two subsequent councils, the adulterer and adulteress were publicly excommunicated by Urban. Yet bishops married and crowned them; only twice (in 1097 and 1104) did they make any pretence of submission, and on each occasion it was only a pretence; Queen Bertrada controlled her husband in his senility, plotted against his son Louis, and jobbed the French Church in her own interests until Philip's death in 1108. Few kings have lived so little troubled through so many years of excommunication.

Before the century and the life of Pope Urban closed, the victory of Rome over simony in its most glaring form, and over the open marriage of priests had been won. But it had been won largely because a moderate party had arisen, led by Ivo or Ives, Bishop of Chartres, the greatest canon-lawyer of his day. Ivo had been a strong papalist, and had actually replaced in the see of Chartres a bishop deposed by Urban; he had been persecuted and imprisoned for his opposition to Philip's marriage with Bertrada; but he stoutly protested, as early as 1096, against the doctrine that lay investiture was heresy, or that, in designating a bishop, a king was conferring any spiritual office. During the next twenty years these ideas gathered strength on both sides of the Rhine, and led eventually in Germany to the Concordat of Worms. Paschal II., Urban's weak successor, allowed Philip to make an outward submission to the Church, came to Saint-Denis, and was there received with every mark of devotion by the king and his son, and used the reconciliation to

thunder, at a council held on French soil (1107 at Troyes), fresh anathemas against the stubborn German Church. This was the beginning of an alliance between Rome and Paris, which was to give French kings the title of 'eldest sons of the Church,' a title which meant, in political language, natural enemies of the German claim to control the Papacy. No concordat was concluded with Philip, or with any subsequent French sovereign before Francis I.; but Philip tacitly abandoned the outward forms of investiture, and substituted for homage an oath of fealty from his bishops. On the other hand he retained the nominations, and even the right to take the revenue of the sees during their vacancy. Perhaps the most important result of the struggle in France was the weakening of the position of the great archbishops, for a time in favour of the Roman theocracy, in the long run in favour of the despotic crown of the centuries to come.

The France of the twelfth century presents a very different aspect from the France of the eleventh. Its history presents also a steadily growing contrast to that of its rival Germany. East of the Rhine, and south of the Alps, the emperors may appear to be gaining ground, but in reality they are losing; the priests and the princes will be too much for them :—

> Great anarchs, be up and undoing!
> Put the dial a century back.

But even St Bernard will be powerless to put it back in France; rather will France absorb all that is best in St Bernard, the spiritual side of his teaching, while she will refuse to allow her civil concerns to lie at the mercy of the Roman pontiffs. Her anarchs (and there are plenty of them) will go off to the Crusades and spill their superabundant energies in every land from Portugal to Mesopotamia. Her kings will be eldest sons of the Church, but eldest sons are not proverbial for blind obedience; champions of the Papacy so long as it interferes in the concerns of other people, but at home feeling their way towards the position of champions of a thing new

in continental Europe, a national Church in a national State. Well might Dante, whose ideals were the very antithesis of this, put Hugh Capet (or rather a figure compounded of Hugh and his father) in a bad Purgatory:—

> Io fui radice della mala pianta
> Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia
> . . . . . .
> Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi
> Per cui novellamente Francia è retta.

And so, in fifty splendid lines,[1] he brands the whole growth of the mightiest state of Europe as the result of mere avarice.

The reign of Louis VI. (1108-1137) saw in reality very little of this fair prospect. Indeed for a moment it looks as if the monarchy were even taking a step backwards. It seems to be abandoning many of the vague Carolingian claims, in order to devote itself to consolidation of its own small domain. Louis VI. only once travelled east of Laon, never west of Evreux or south of Clermont, nor did his great southern, eastern, or western vassals often visit his court. He appeared to be little concerned in the quarrels between Normandy and Anjou, Aquitaine and Toulouse; Normandy *versus* the Crown gave him quite enough to think about. But this attitude may easily be exaggerated; we shall see that, whenever Louis VI., and still more Louis VII., got a chance of making their weight felt in outlying provinces without provoking great wars, they neglected no opportunity of doing so.

Louis VI. has been fortunate in having his *Life*, or rather a panegyric upon him, written by his old friend and schoolfellow, Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis (1122-1152), a book whose value it would be difficult to exaggerate.[2] Suger was no doubt a statesman of the first rank, and one of the makers of France in the best sense of the

[1] *Purgatorio*, xx., 43-97.

[2] Unfortunately there are hardly any dates in the book; it is also extremely difficult to read, the style being involved, and the matter often obscured thereby. Suger could not have been a good composer of State papers.

word. He has the feeling of French nationality in every line, and, which is much rarer, a complete recognition of the right of England to her nationality also;[1] he shows his hero everywhere as the champion of the churches (and especially of his own abbey) against feudal anarchy. He grew to manhood just when the first batches of the Crusaders had come back from the Holy Land, and pretty bad characters he gives of some of them.[2] He knew the emperor, Henry V., and called him most truly a man 'void of natural affection and of all humanity.' He may be said to have been present at all Louis's important diplomatic conclaves and councils until 1127, when St Bernard persuaded him that he ought to reside more constantly at Saint-Denis.[3] He is remarkably free from the miraculous, though he believed that Merlin prophesied the wreck of the *White Ship*.[4] It was owing, perhaps, to Suger's wisdom that St Bernard's popes could be received and honoured upon French soil, without getting their feet upon the neck of the French Church. Thus Suger paved the way for that alliance of Louis VII. and Alexander III. which, as we shall see, eventually saved France from being crushed between the Plantagenets and the Hohenstaufen. He became the friend and political tutor of Prince Louis, who was crowned at Rheims in 1131, after his elder brother had been killed by a 'diabolical pig' running between his horse's legs in Paris; 'Homer himself could not have expressed the grief felt throughout the kingdom at this loss.'[5] Suger was absent in the south getting his royal *protégé* married to Eleanor of Aquitaine when Louis VI. died. Finally, it is Suger who puts into the mouth of his hero the immortal French proverb: 'Oh! si la jeunesse

[1] *E.g.*, cap. i., p. 7. (I cite Molinier's edition, Paris, 1887.) 'It is neither right nor natural that Frenchmen should be subject to Englishmen, nor Englishmen to Frenchmen.'

[2] Cap. viii., p. 20.

[3] See St Bernard's letter of that year (Letter 78 in Migne, vol. clxxxv.). Suger was only in deacon's orders when he became abbot in 1122, but he took priest's orders on his election.

[4] Cap. xv., p. 46.

[5] Cap. xxxi., pp. 121-122.

savait, et si la vieillesse pouvait!'[1] After 1132 his influence perhaps somewhat declined and many of Louis VII.'s early acts, and especially the Second Crusade, were done strongly against Suger's advice; but Louis left him principal regent when he went upon that gallant errand, and, in spite of the frightful cost and disaster that attended it, received back his kingdom in peace and order from Suger's hands at his return.

Louis VI. was a good hero for a mediæval book, for, like Henry I., he was before all things a soldier. Tall and of great physical strength till he grew so enormously fat that he could no longer ride, he was foremost in every fight, not only in the open field as a knight, but in mounting the breach of a flaming donjon, or leading his men through a river they hadn't dared to swim. He was also a good hero for a churchman, for his interests lay most in protecting the lands and the peasants of the Church, especially on his domain, against the feudal robbers who tried to prey upon them. Very likely he thought of this task more in the light of his interests than of his duty, but happily the two were co-extensive. More than this, however, was in his mind. Though certainly not a man of far-reaching intelligence or foresight—a child in diplomacy compared to Henry I. of England or even Henry V. of Germany—he had a wide, if vague consciousness of the duty of the monarchy in regions far beyond the limits of its domain. He was rebuffed and beaten continually when he tried to interfere in Normandy; and (after one striking success) he failed in Flanders; Anjou he hardly touched at all, and he was incessantly baffled by the treacherous Theobald of Blois; but he brought his influence to fruit in Bourbon and Auvergne, and he procured for his son the marriage which would, if it had lasted, have added the vast Duchy of Aquitaine to the Crown. Finally, on one great occasion (1124), he appeared at the head of a united French

[1] 'Si enim juvenis scissem aut modo senex possem' (cap. xxxii., p. 123). Suger began a sketch of the next reign called *Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici*, to which later chroniclers added.

army to repel a German invasion.[1] The alliance of Henry I. of England and Henry V. of Germany was no doubt the most serious thing he had to face, especially when Theobald of Blois was thrown in.

For the rest Louis was avaricious and by no means averse to selling his support, or withdrawing his support for a bribe, in the disputes which now began to be of constant occurrence between the rising 'communes' of the north and their feudal *seigneurs*, lay or ecclesiastical. Yet one thinks he must have been a man of naturally loyal heart, for he remained steadily faithful to his father in spite of great temptation; his stepmother constantly tried to poison him, and it was believed that his pale complexion was due to the partial success of her efforts. He was always ready to pardon her! It would be tiresome to relate the king's struggles against such brigands as Hugh Puiset in the Beauce, or Thomas de Marle of the Picard family of Couci; Louis was well acquainted with this type during the last eight years of his father when he acted as *regni defensor*. The lands of Saint-Denis, and those of the sees of Rheims and Orleans were always being infested by these and similar ruffians. One supposes that their castles (which often took a lot of battering) must have been something more than single towers or shell-keeps; de Marle evidently had a good many strong rooms, in which he kept and tortured such merchants as were rash enough to travel through his forest. Puiset 'esteemed neither the King of Heaven nor the King of the Franks much.'[2] Louis once had to defend

[1] It was upon this occasion that Louis 'took the oriflamme' at Saint-Denis before starting for his campaign. Suger (xxvii., p. 102) is, I think, the first chronicler to mention the practice, though there is a reference to it in the *Chanson de Roland* (i., 223). The derivation is from *aurea flamma*. The king took the standard from the altar *votive tanquam a domino suo*. It seems to have been a small, three-pointed banner of red and yellow silk, and the symbol of the dependence of the counties of Pontoise and Mantes (*i.e.*, the French Vexin, now held by the Crown) on the abbey. Oddly enough it was carried into battle for the last time against another Henry V. in 1415.

[2] Suger, xviii., p. 61.

against him that very Theobald, Count of Blois (brother of our King Stephen), who was himself only a Puiset upon a bigger scale; Theobald showed no sort of gratitude, but immediately joined Henry I. against their common suzerain, and finally got Puiset to try his luck again on his own side. The most interesting thing about these small wars is that the Crown could and did command a regular militia from the sees, abbeys, and parishes which were suffering from the brigands, and that this was often led by the *curés* themselves, sometimes by the bishops. It is very probable that this militia was a survival of the days of the Peace and Truce of God, the regulations of which provided for the whole countryside to turn out for its enforcement. Suger[1] has a fine story of a certain bold *curé*, who unarmoured and 'against all human opinion' led the storm at the first capture of Puiset.[2]

Blois and Chartres, which were separated from Champagne towards the close of the eleventh century, were reunited to it again in 1125, and their Count Theobald remained the worst enemy of Louis VI. and VII. till his own death in 1152. The former thought on his deathbed that he had made friends with this traitor, but the latter was soon undeceived. Theobald was an exceedingly plausible scoundrel, and his immense gifts to the Church won him the friendship of St Bernard.

Against Normandy Louis had no real success, but he never gave up the struggle; King Henry's brother Robert had disappeared into Cardiff Castle after his defeat at Tenchebray in 1106, but he had left a son William Clito, who was to be a tool constantly used by, if not very useful to, Louis until his death in 1128. Louis had the doggedness not to know when he was beaten; though he had to sign at Gisors in 1113 a treaty which left his rival overlord of Maine (a province the Angevins had got by marriage in 1110) and of distant Brittany, he was soon at it again, and got a bad defeat at Brémule in 1119.

[1] Cap. xviii., p. 65.

[2] This castle seems to have had a wooden keep, defended first by a stone wall and then beyond that by a palisade.

He then turned like a wounded bear on Henry's ally, Theobald of Blois, and threatened to sack his city of Chartres; but the clergy and people thereof shook the Blessed Virgin's shirt (*camisia*) at him,[1] and he retired; and, after a vain effort to get the Pope to interfere on his behalf, was obliged to sign with Henry a second Treaty of Gisors in 1120. Henry, the richest king in Europe, was, it is supposed, able on this occasion to bring very concrete arguments to bear upon Pope Calixtus; his hostility to Louis never ceased, so, after the loss of Prince William in the *White Ship*, Louis saw a good chance of supporting the Clito as successor for the Duchy of Normandy, and Henry had to face a third great feudal revolt, with Anjou backing it. This was when he got his son-in-law, the Emperor Henry V., to threaten an invasion of France;[2] when the emperor died next year, Henry betrothed his own widowed daughter Matilda (1127) to Geoffrey, heir of Anjou, thus opening to the Angevins the prospect of the English and Norman successions. After the death of Henry of England in 1135, this Geoffrey had a hard fight for it for nine long years (mostly against Theobald of Blois), but by 1144 all Normandy was in his power. To this struggle Louis VI. and VII. had little to say.

Little also at any time to the far south. In Languedoc and Provence, which the House of Saint-Gilles at Toulouse (in constant strife against its own lesser feudality, against the Duke of Aquitaine, against the Count of Barcelona) nominally controlled, Paris had no influence at all; the Raymonds were mainly occupying themselves with crusades, and the effects of these were to enrich the great cities of the south, and to prompt them to demand self-government. In Aquitaine, whose seat of government was at Poitiers, ruled William IX., by turns troubadour, crusader, and mocker. He deserves some credit for having once (1097) actually dared to arrest and imprison one of the legates of the mighty Urban II., also for having sent his contingent to help Louis VI. (though it did not arrive in time) against the

[1] Suger, cap. xxv., p. 93. [2] *Vide supra*, p. 125.

abortive German invasion of 1124. Two years later William put on a bold face against the king, who came south to compel the Count of Auvergne to cease from troubling the Bishop of Clermont; but at the sight of Louis's considerable force he gave way and did homage (an unusual event for a Duke of Aquitaine). He died the next year (1127) and his son, the last duke, on his death-bed gave his daughter with her duchy to Prince Louis of France (1137).

Tiresome as the history of the jarring covetousness of the great fief-holders must always be, there is one thread of common interest running through them all. Each was now consolidating his dominions into a sort of 'state,' each was becoming a territorial, as opposed to a mere feudal lord. The game of mere grab for grab's sake was over; you still grabbed, but you grabbed something permanently useful, something contiguous to yourself. In fact you now might call, and rightly call, your grabbing 'expansion.' Next you perceived that your best interest lay in keeping the peace within your expanded borders. A Fulk V. (1109-1129) or a Geoffrey the Handsome (1129-1151) of Anjou battered down donjons, policed his territory, and protected his churches, with no less zeal and energy than Louis VI. or Henry I. of England and Normandy. They declared in their feudal courts, though they did not codify, the customs which they meant to uphold. They founded very many new towns, and sold privileges to old ones; they protected trade. Even the Blois-Champagne people, so annoying to their great neighbours, kept peace to the best of their ability within their borders. A Duke of Burgundy who reigned from 1102 till 1143 actually got the name of 'the Peaceful.' Best of all at such efforts were the counts of Flanders, Robert 'of Jerusalem' (*i.e.*, of the First Crusade) (1093-1111), Baldwin VII. 'the Justice-doer' (1111-1119), Charles 'the Good' (1119-1127). Though they were often terrible fellows in German anarchies, they were usually good friends to King Louis, and all three were most excellent chief-constables of Flanders. Lille

was their capital, and the theatre of their expansion was in Hainault and the other imperial fiefs on their southern frontier. Count Charles, it was said, was offered two crowns, that of the Empire and that of Jerusalem,[1] and had the good sense to refuse both. He was murdered in church in 1127 by some of the criminals whom he had repressed; towards the end of his life he had leaned rather to an English than a French alliance, and this fact has suggested that King Louis was not altogether sorry for the murder. It gave the king at least the opportunity of coming at once to Flanders, and taking a horrible vengeance on the murderers; he even hanged a monk for it! He then proceeded, as suzerain of the county, to determine the succession, and supported for it the not unreasonable claims of his *protégé*, William Clito, son of Robert of Normandy; William was the great-grandson of Baldwin V., there was no better heir, and for a short time he was successful. We can see a germ of a regular provincial 'estates' in the fact that the barons and citizens of the county and cities of Flanders sat to discuss the titles of several claimants. William, however, was as great a fool as his father, and rapidly lost all the sympathies of his new subjects; he appealed to Louis against them, and Louis came to help him with an army in 1128. Hostile as the the whole country now showed itself to the royal interference, Louis might possibly have succeeded if William had not been killed at a siege in the same year.[2] With his successor, Thierry of Alsace, Louis hastened to make peace, which was kept until the king's death.

That this good king was able to make head against any extravagant claims of the Papacy and the extreme clerical party, is rendered more remarkable

[1] In each case the story rests only upon the statement of a single writer, the former upon one passage in Otto of Freising, and the latter on Charles's own chaplain, Galbert of Bruges in his *Passio Caroli Boni;* (see Giesebrecht, *Deutsche Kaiserzeit*, iv., 417).

[2] Luchaire lays much stress on the rebuff, and says that the barons and citizens of Flanders, in rejecting Louis's interference, 'gave the king a lesson in feudal law' (*Inst. Mon.*, ii., 24).

by the fact that he lived, as a Frenchman would say, 'in full Saint Bernard.' The career of this extraordinary man, born in 1091 of a noble family in Burgundy, professed a monk at Citeaux in 1113, founder of Clairvaux,[1] 1115, and dying there in the cell which was his only home, thirty-eight years later, is one of the most remarkable of the Middle Ages. The clever writer of a recent book called *Orthodoxy* must, I think, have based his views upon some of St Bernard's writings; the ground-text of that book seems to be that Christianity must be true not because it is reasonable, logical, and gracious, but because it finds room for all the most unreasonable and mutually self-contradictory ideas, gives rein to all the fiercest passions of human nature, is, in fact, a series of glaring contrasts. St Bernard, whose utter sincerity and nobleness of character must attract everyone, was constantly torn in half by two sets of passions, mutually irreconcilable. On the one hand he was the highest expression of the monastic ideal, to fly from the world and all its snares, those of learning no less than those of riches and of dominion; on the other he was the stern theocrat, giving the law to that world, and dragooning abbots, bishops, kings, emperors, and even popes, until they did his uttermost will;[2] so learned that he is reckoned the last of the Latin 'Fathers,' and as one of the 'Doctors' of the Church (since 1830), yet setting his

[1] Near Bar-sur-Aube in Champagne.

[2] Bernard, says his enemy Map (*de Nugis Curialium*, pp. 40, 41), 'was like Lucifer among the stars of night . . . he drove his chariots through cities, so that he could carry away to monasteries those who believed in him.' But Map's greatest achievement (*ibid.*, p. 42) lies in the stories of Bernard's failure to work miracles, which he says that he heard at Thomas Becket's table from John Planeta, and at Gilbert Foliot's table from an abbot; the former told how at Montpellier Bernard was called on to cast out a devil from one possessed, how he, sitting on a great she-ass, exorcised the demon and then called out, 'unbind him'; but how, directly the man was unbound, he rushed at the saint and began to stone him—having in fact discovered that he was a hypocrite. Becket was not unnaturally very angry at the story, and said to John, 'are these your miracles?' The abbot told first a totally unprintable story of the saint's attempt to

face resolutely against those who would make theology a science or base its defence upon reason rather than upon blind faith; a passionate Puritan, who would allow no ornaments or paint in his churches, ceaselessly denouncing the riches and splendour of the clergy, yet equally fierce against Arnold of Brescia and other heretics who were appealing to popular instinct upon the same ground; bearding kings and bearding insurgent bourgeois with magnificent impartiality, and dying with a heart broken by the terrible failure of the Second Crusade, for the launching of which he was more than anyone responsible. The time was out of joint, and Bernard nobly undertook the task of setting it right; it would be unfair to dwell too long on the results of his unskilful surgery.[1]

Bernard was an incomparable letter-writer, the best, I think, of the Middle Ages, and it is eminently characteristic of him that one of his own fiercest denunciations is[2] of the practice of letter-writing, which is 'destructive of the silence which religious men ought to keep.' If we had only his actions and his public life before us, we might think of him mainly as a sort of triumphant Becket, but in his private letters he reveals the whole of a very beautiful and tender and intensely human heart. Nothing was more estimable in his eyes than pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but when an English pilgrim starts for Jerusalem, stops for a night at Clairvaux on the way, and ends by casting anchor there for life, Bernard is overjoyed, and at once declares 'Clairvaux *is* Jerusalem; may it please you, good Bishop of Lincoln, to see about the payment of our new brother's debts.'[3]

raise to life a dead boy, and then a second of a similar attempt on Count Walter of Nemours, at whose tomb in the Chartreuse Bernard called with a loud voice, 'Walter come forth': "but Walter, not hearing the voice of Jesus and not having the ears of Lazarus, did not come."

[1] Bernard was canonised in 1174. In quoting his letters I have been obliged to make use of the very unsatisfactory order given to them in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clxxxv.

[2] Letter 89.

[3] Letter 64.

Nowhere, however, was Bernard more utterly behind his age than in his ignorance of the growing spirit of French nationality with the Monarchy as its exponent. His friend is not Louis VI., protector of the peasant and the parish priest, but (of all conceivable men!) that highly accomplished scoundrel, Theobald of Blois.[1] The Abbey of Saint-Denis, with its national traditions, its national relics, and its new church, the first flower of Gothic art in Christendom;[2] that of Cluny, which under Pierre de Montboissier, called the Venerable (1122-1156), was still a centre of much practical reform, and of some learning; these are objects of Bernard's covert scorn;[3] and, it is quite evident, of his fiercest jealousy.[4] Yet Louis and Saint-Denis received with open arms at Bernard's bidding the Pope, Innocent II., whom he had chosen to declare, in the teeth of the canon of 1059 and of the great majority of

[1] Once (Letter 358) he calls Theobald 'a Son of Peace,' and begs the Pope to procure him peace; but no one had ever less to do with peace than Theobald. Yet he is quite able to scold Theobald (as he scolded his popes when they didn't please him), *e.g.*, Letter 37 and Letter 261: Theobald has given an ecclesiastical benefice to his fourth son William, still a boy, and the saint tells the count plainly 'You must not do such things; I love William, and wish him well, but I love God more.' William, however, retained the benefice, became Bishop of Chartres, Archbishop of Sens, then of Rheims, finally as Cardinal crowned Philip Augustus. It was for him that Alexander III. gave Rheims its prerogative position as the church of coronations.

[2] Suger began the rebuilding of Saint-Denis in the 'Early French' style; its choir was consecrated with immense pomp in 1144; nobles and people alike had laboured at the work of construction.

[3] Cluny received the 'heretic' Abélard after his condemnation by the Council of Sens till his death in 1143. One could hardly expect Bernard to forgive that.

[4] A long list of extracts might be made from Bernard's letters illustrative of his jealousy of the Cluniacs. See especially Letter 1 (a nephew of Bernard's has left the Cistercians for the Cluniacs, too obviously from a desire for warmer bedclothes and better food); Letter 143 (a monk of Cluny has been made Bishop of Langres—the Saint is very angry); Letter 149, to Abbot Peter (I advise you not to interfere in the concerns of the Abbey of Saint-Bertin, it is no business of yours).

cardinals, to be lawfully elected.[1] Two successive earlier popes, Paschal and Gelasius, who had quarrelled with emperors or had made Rome too hot to hold them, had previously been received in France with every mark of reverence; a third, Calixtus II., was of royal French blood, and was elected at Cluny; and to none of the anti-popes put up by the emperors had any serious number of Frenchmen a word to say except *anathema estote.*

All this availed little to redeem in Bernard's eyes the character of a king who constantly and successfully resisted the substitution of 'reformed' canons from the Abbey of Saint-Victor for the older Chapter of Notre-Dame at Paris. The Bishop of Paris, a red hot Bernardine,[2] appealed to the Pope, but in vain, and the king drove the bishop from his see. The best popes would always do their best to bring the principles of reform and desecularisation into the French Church, and the French kings were ready to accept a great deal of these principles; but 'do not press the King of France too hard,' was becoming a proverb at Rome. There was no fundamental cause of quarrel between France and Rome such as there was between Rome and Germany, for France claimed no sovereignty in Rome or in Italy. All through the twelfth century the development on French soil of the Cistercian and Premonstratensian orders, and of a score of their imitators, went on; 'Canons Regular,' *i.e.*, canons living in a cloister and according to monastic rule, steadily supplanted the

[1] Suger says that the king called the Council of Étampes, 1130 (where the papal schism was discussed), 'magis de persona quam de electione investigans' (xxxi., p. 118); he knew well enough that Innocent's election had been uncanonical. Innocent met Louis, Henry I., and the Emperor Lothair successively, at Bernard's bidding, in the early months of 1131. The Council of Rheims, at which the Pope crowned Prince Louis, was held in the autumn of that year; the Pope left France in April 1132.

[2] See St Bernard, Letters 45, 49. Once Bernard calls Louis *alterum Herodem*, and says that what he persecutes is not the bishops, but their piety and zeal. In Letter 46 he scolds Honorius II. for listening to the king. Years afterwards he scolds Innocent II. (Letters 216-219) in similar fashion for listening to Louis VII. in the matter of the archbishopric of Bourges.

old secular canons (though by no means always without a struggle or even a brawl), and the service of the churches was consequently better performed; regular 'nurseries' of such people were kept, especially in the Abbey of Saint-Victor founded in 1113. If the Crusades were *par excellence* a French game, French also was the spirit of which the Abbey of Citeaux (though largely the creation of an Englishman, Stephen Harding, 1098)[1] was the best representative. The foundations of the Chartreuse (1082) and Prémontré (1119) were actually the work of Germans (Bruno and Norbert); and the former was not even on French soil (it was in Dauphiné, near Grenoble), but they were men of French or Burgundian blood who gave them all the fire and all the success. Above all, Bernard himself, though wholly blind to the coming destinies of France, carried with him on his ceaseless travels that *perfervidum ingenium*, which the French people are believed to share with the Scots.

When we turn to that which we may perhaps describe, in parliamentary phrase, as 'The Opposition,' we shall see that it consists of two parts;[2] the popular heretics and the learned. The former of these did indeed afterwards absorb many French elements; it was that same popular heresy, which we observed King Robert attacking early in the eleventh century, but it was Eastern in origin and filtered into France by way of Italy. Some of it was mystical, dreamy, illogical, and had a considerable vogue in Lorraine and on the Rhine. Some of it was puritan, spiritual, and as aspiring in its ideas of holiness as St Bernard himself; such 'heretics' as Peter de Brueys and Henry of Lausanne rejected all ceremonies and symbols,

[1] Robert, a knight of Champagne, was its founder and first abbot; Alberic the second abbot drew up the *regula*. Harding was the inspirer of both, and it was he who as third abbot amended the *regula* and obtained the sanction of Pope Calixtus for it in 1119. St Bernard founded no less than one hundred and sixty offshoots of Citeaux, and there were five hundred represented at the General Chapter of the Order in 1151.

[2] See also *supra* in my introductory chapter.

even the cross itself. A third strain which became endemic in the south was mocking, secularist, unchristian. St Bernard met and fought, by preaching and miracle-working, all three varieties; he was quite certain that heretics, even when they went singing to the fire, were merely inspired by the devil; yet he did not like the practice of burning them, and often, though not always, condemned those who used it. Nor were the French bishops inclined to burnings, whereas the French mobs were; there are several instances of the 'people' breaking open the prisons in which 'heretics' were confined, or hunting them into the flames in mere riot.

Wholly French in spirit on the other hand were those dialecticians from whose schools afterwards grew up the great University of Paris.[1] A writer who is equally ignorant of theology and of moral philosophy may perhaps be excused from attempting to give any account of 'Scholasticism,' *i.e.*, of the disputes between Realists Nominalists, and Conceptualists.[2] I should be scolded if I said that one party declared that the only real things were things invisible; another that only the fact that things had names made things exist at all; a third that nothing

[1] The first cradle of this was in the Cathedral School of Notre-Dame, which was the centre of Parisian learning in the time of William of Champeaux, Abélard's master. It was Abélard who made the fame of Sainte-Geneviève. Gilds of masters and teachers grew up, certainly at Notre-Dame, perhaps elsewhere, and certain ceremonies, were necessary for admission to them. It was no more than was happening in all other trades in the twelfth century. The Crown favoured such gilds; and, with the proviso that 'privileges to gilds do not constitute a University,' we may be content to accept the date 1150-1170 as that from which there definitely came into existence the materials for a University. Innocent III. gave the masters the right to elect a prolocutor, and, in spite of much opposition from the authorities of the Cathedral, statutes were drawn up in 1215, and during the next twenty years the school blossomed out into a full-blown University. (Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1895, *cap.* v., *sect.* 1.)

[2] England may perhaps be proud of the fact that the first of the 'Schoolmen,' in point of time, was an Archbishop of Canterbury (Anselm), the last a Master of Balliol (Wycliffe).

existed at all except in men's imagination.[1] The questions in dispute were, in some shape or other, as old as the ninth century. From the early twelfth-century point of view the moderate realists were orthodox, the extreme realists trembled on the verge of heresy, the nominalists were generally heretics, and the conceptualists dangerous people. For some modified form of each school room was afterwards found within the pale of the Church. Meanwhile each called the other bad names, as philosophers are apt to do. Bernard had his answer to all; 'these things are mysteries into which a good Catholic should not pry; discussion of first principles is sure to lead to heresy.'[2] If he would have condescended (or dared) to argue fairly, he would probably have met his match in the great philosopher and dialectician, the Breton nobleman, Abélard (1079-1143), the hardiest thinker of the Middle Ages; whatever Abélard was not, he was at least a 'braw fighter'; he fastened his teeth in the neck of any rival professor at once, in order to tear his renown and his pupils from him. He was the first who made the home and the name of the great School of Paris, on the hill where still stands her patroness Sainte-Geneviève.[3] Even the fact that he showed the futility of the tradition that Saint-Denis had been Dionysius the Areopagite, and of many other traditions of the churches, could not destroy his popularity with Parisian thinkers. Abélard was centuries ahead of his age in denouncing persecution, crusades, intolerance generally, and in questioning the received text of Scripture and the

[1] To take a homely illustration: the realist will maintain that all specimens of the feline race are mere reflections of some great *Urkatze*, who, alone of cats, really exists, and combines in himself and herself (for he must be ambisexual) all conceivable qualities of 'pussiness'; the nominalist, on the other hand, denying the existence of the ideal cat, and attributing existence only to the specimens of the race, is often driven to ignore generic qualities, in fact to ignore pussiness—which is not more absurd than it is impious.

[2] 'To accept the doctrines of the Church because they were rational was hardly less offensive than to reject them as irrational.' Rashdall, i., 55.

[3] Dr Rashdall says that, of Aristotle, Abélard knew only some of

received methods of interpreting it. He even ventured to suggest that revelations had been vouchsafed to others than Jews, *e.g.*, to Plato. But he thoroughly believed the Bible to be a true revelation, and considered that, if it contained things contrary to reason, the text must be corrupt. He was vain of his learning and of his independence, but he had much to be vain of.[1] Such a man was sure to be constantly in trouble, and he was often driven to take refuge, compulsory or voluntary, in monasteries. But he invariably broke out and rushed into the fray again. At last St Bernard declared (1139) that this must stop. Abélard, who had already been obliged to burn one of his own books, was summoned before a council at Sens in 1140, and instantly challenged Bernard to a public disputation. Bernard came, but wisely evaded the contest. Abélard was condemned unheard, or saw that he was certain to be condemned, and appealed to the Pope. Bernard told Innocent II.[2] that Abélard must at least be condemned to perpetual silence; and the heretic, if such indeed he was, allowed himself to be received by the gentle Abbot Peter at Cluny, and to die reconciled to the Church in 1143.

One more manifestation of the rising spirit of France must be noticed as in full activity before the death of Louis VI., the Communal movement. The towns of France, in the north as well as in the south, were increasing both in numbers and population, and the sudden development of commerce at the date of the First Crusade opened the eyes of their inhabitants very wide. Enlightened feudal lords, whether clerical or lay, were

the Logic, but that he was a true Platonist in his appeal to reason and private judgment.

[1] Mr Webb in his introduction to the *Policraticus*, p. xiii., *ut supra*, quotes a charming epitaph on Abélard, inscribed on a twelfth-century manuscript of that work—

> Pars aliis in parte patet; mirabile dictu,
> Huic soli patuit scibile quidquid erat.

[2] See Letters 330-335 and 338 (the last from the French bishops to the Pope); silence, with prohibition from reading and writing, was the sentence which seemed satisfactory to Abélard's opponents.

constantly creating centres of trade, profitable both to themselves and to those whom they invited to settle therein. No country has so many places styled *Villeneuve* as France, though we have seen a similar process of colonisation going on in twelfth-century Germany. The settlers in 'Villeneuve-l'Évêque' or 'Villeneuve-le-Comte,'[1] obtained written privileges or charters, exempting them from all jurisdiction except that of their immediate lord and founder, from serfdom, from *arbitrary* taille, and in a few instances even from military service. It was only natural if the older towns sought to acquire similar privileges. We do not really know when the movement in this direction began,[2] for a charter of emancipation or of privilege very seldom expresses a wholly new condition of things; more usually it legalises something which may have been long in existence either by connivance or grant.

The *Commune juré* or sworn association, sometimes apparently including all classes dwelling within the town walls, seems to have been a product of the north-east corner of France, *i.e.*, of Picardy and Flanders, already a manufacturing district, and closely bordering upon the trade route from the Mediterranean to England. The men who swore to it might be rich merchants, poor artisans, members of trade-gilds, members of ecclesiastical corporations, sometimes even knights whose possessions in the towns may have been originally given by Caroling kings on condition of guarding the walls against the pirates. Very likely all these classes had been accustomed in the tenth century to turn out to maintain the 'truce of God,' and so had learnt to act in common, perhaps to 'keep the peace' in common; with the idea of a 'special peace' existing within the walls of a town, readers of English history are already

[1] Suger himself was a pioneer of *Villes-neuves* in the immediate environs of Paris; he also gave very large grants of freedom to the country serfs on the estates of the Abbey of Saint-Denis.

[2] Le Mans in Maine (1074) is a very much earlier instance of a communal movement (an abortive one, it is true, for the moment) than any other of which record has survived.

familiar. In places where the chapter of a cathedral was embroiled with its bishop, or in the cases (very rare in the North) where two or more lords had *seigneuries* within the walls, a combined effort of all citizens might buy out one of the competing powers, and throw off the yoke of another; the result might be more than mere 'economic liberties,' such as a fixed *taille*, fixed market tolls, or open markets; it might be the complete abolition of servile conditions, *corvées*, and military service; in some cases it might even be self-government by its own elected magistrates, and freedom from all jurisdiction outside its walls. The last of these conditions was naturally more common in the richer south, especially in the towns on or near the Italian frontier, or on the shore of the Mediterranean, whose trade was becoming maritime even before the Crusades. No doubt also these three states of comparative liberty might be conquered successively. And again, the terms of the grants, whether made to all citizens or only to those commercial gilds which ultimately formed the patriciate of the towns, varied very widely. A full-blown commune should have a seal, a belfry, elected magistrates (a *maire* or *prévôt*, and *échevins;* in the south 'consuls'), and a militia, and should be free from all external jurisdiction. It would then definitely take its place in the scheme of feudal tenure as a *seigneurie collective* liable to ordinary feudal duties. Very few of the original charters survive, and the existing copies have, no doubt, been subject to interpolation. Many communes evidently 'received,' or petitioned for, some pattern charter, 'like that which your Majesty (or your Lordship) granted to the men of X.'

But one should guard oneself against looking at this as a general or united movement, or as a 'great upheaval towards freedom.' There was contagion, no doubt (both English and French chroniclers thought of it as a sort of plague; few monks liked it), but one commune did not cease to hate another; the towns had little sympathy with the serfs in the country, who were in many cases making contracts for emancipation from the most vexatious

feudal dues at the same time. Much depended on the character and power of the feudal lords against whom the citizens were struggling. Generally speaking, the bigger the lord, the fewer liberties he would grant; whereas a small count dealing with a big town would have to grant a great deal. Some of the fiercest contests were with bishops or abbots, *e.g.*, at Soissons, Corbie, and somewhat later at Rheims. At Laon both sides bribed Louis VI. for his support, and he broke his word to both; the bishop was murdered, the king avenged him and destroyed the commune in blood. But it rose again; within fifteen years the same king had confirmed its existence, and a new bishop had given its charter. On royal domain few privileges were the gift of Louis VI.; his two greatest cities, Paris and Orleans, had no written charters. To the smaller towns, and especially to the most recent acquisition, Bourges, he was more liberal, and he is often found complying with the request of the townsmen that he would restrain the exactions of his stewards and other officials who administered his domains. Either successive Counts of Flanders were more liberal, or their cities were more powerful and richer, for Ghent, Saint-Omer, Bruges, and Lille early acquired real municipal self-government, while several Picard cities, such as Beauvais and Noyon, wrung equally valuable concessions from their bishops. The rulers of Champagne, Burgundy, and Ponthieu granted liberal charters. The Crown itself was always torn two ways, or more than two ways, at once. *Qua* feudal owner of domain, a king might be hostile to a commune; *qua* enemy of small feudality, he would be favourable. *Qua* successor of Charlemagne—and that was mostly still to come—he would be inclined to go a great deal further, and to support the towns even on the greater fiefs. He would, in this capacity, like to treat all towns, whether chartered communes or no, as 'his towns'; Beauvais asserts, in the teeth of feudal law, that it *is* this as early as 1149. But for any general recognition of such a principle we must wait till very late in the thirteenth century.

We may be tempted to scold Louis VI. for not seizing upon this nascent force in French life to help him to combat feudalism; Englishmen have a vague idea that the Norman dukes and Angevin counts who became kings of England were more enlightened. But the dates refute this; with the exception of their charters to London, the names of the officials in which are closely similar to those occurring in the 'Establishments' of Rouen,[1] few town-charters were given in England before the accession of Richard I.; very few were given in Anjou or Normandy. The facts remain that King Louis was very poor; that his clergy were his best supporters, and that, almost to a man, his bishops were hostile to the new movement. And not only bishops and great abbots, but the clergy as a whole were strongly hostile,[2] except in places where a Chapter or a whole set of city clergy happened to be at feud with their bishop. Now the towns were hardly rich or powerful enough in Louis VI.'s time to compensate him for a possible quarrel with his bishops. Moreover, the example of the turbulent cities on the Rhine was not an encouraging one, nor was that of the great republics (for already Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were almost that) in Italy. There were points in the communal movement, such as the demand for the

[1] *The Commune of London and other Studies*, by J. H. Round, 1899. The late Miss Bateson in her two articles in the *English Historical Review* (vol. xvii., pp. 480 *sqq.* and 707 *sqq.*) has to some extent refuted Mr Round's argument as to the similarity of the early municipal constitutions of London and Rouen.

[2] The 'palace' of a bishop would usually be in the town, and the castle of a lay lord outside the town; it is not very easy to see any other reason for this hostility, which was certainly not shared by the majority of lay lords (and one would suppose these to be less enlightened than clerks). The constant and tumultuous violation of the right of asylum by the communes is hardly enough to account for the attitude of the clergy; but the communal movement undoubtedly had an irreligious side, and the mockery and blasphemy, with which ignorant mobs so often relieved their superstition, no doubt made itself felt in communal struggles. There are stories to hand of wholesale boycotting and starvation of the clergy in some French towns.

control of the militia, or for even the abolition of military service, that might well make a king hesitate, and the events in Flanders in 1127-1128, after the death of Charles the Good, must have made Louis open his eyes pretty wide. Finally, it is interesting to see that, at the opposite pole of French thought, St Bernard was a resolute opponent of the communes; he was even an opponent of the movement of the country serfs for emancipation. Innocent II. excommunicated the communal movement at Rheims, and compelled Louis VII. to put it down; Eugenius III. and Hadrian IV. followed his lead with the most savage denunciations. Alone of popes the good Alexander III. was more reasonable, and once protected a commune (Châteauneuf) against St Martin of Tours. Louis VII. undoubtedly wished well to the whole movement, gave a great many charters on his domain, and founded many privileged *villes-neuves.*

Louis VII. (1137-1180) seems to have got the name of 'Le Jeune' to distinguish him from his father, in whose lifetime he had been crowned. It was, for better reasons, an appropriate name; its bearer must have been not unloved by the gods, for a reign of forty-three stormy years was unable to quench his native sweetness and gaiety of temper: he lived and died young. There is a very sharp break in his twelfth regnal year at his return from the Second Crusade, and it seems to be marked by something like a transformation of character. In 1137 everything looked rosy for the steady march of the Monarchy along the lines laid down by the patient, laborious, valorous Louis VI. England and Germany were both so much torn by civil wars as to remain entirely powerless to hurt France for many years to come. Abbot Suger, the greatest minister of the Middle Ages, perhaps, considering his narrow sphere, the greatest minister that France ever had, stood by the side of young Louis VII.; the greatest inheritance a Frenchman ever reaped by a single marriage, the Duchy of Aquitaine, had just become his, together with a wife with

whom he had fallen passionately in love.[1] In these, his early and brilliant years, Louis was adventurous, ambitious, and even a bit quarrelsome; ready to flare up against noble, or bishop, or pope on very slight provocation, and by no means devoid of political instinct. On the Crusade itself, in the midst of the most dreadful hardships, he behaved not only as a most valiant knight in the field, but, at least until the embarcation at Attalia, as a prudent commander, keeping strict discipline and nursing his perishing army by every means in his power. Thereafter something seems to have given way in his knightly fibre; after the failure at Damascus, he hung about at Jerusalem, not, like his descendant St Louis, busy with fortification and military measures, but on his knees in prayer at the shrines of the Holy places. And when at last he returned home, with his wife's affection hopelessly lost and the shadow of a great disaster clouding his name, he seemed to have drifted into and along a career of misfortune which very nearly engulfed the Monarchy; he became, as it were, the plaything of popes, emperors, kings, and barons. His resolution, his ambition, his fire of temper, and most of his political insight seemed to have gone for ever.

Yet it was from that time that the native goodness of Louis began to appear. There was something in him which no political failure could sadden; no amount of meticulous fasting and pilgrimaging made him morose or a religious prig; no snubs from his clergy or trickery from lay princes spoiled his courtesy. Though he once, if Map[2] may be believed, burned a Jew who had attacked a clerical procession, he showed himself not only tolerant, but even courteous to Jews as a whole. Intellectually and in strength of will he was, as everyone knows, infinitely inferior to his great-great-grandson, St Louis; yet he was the same perfect gentleman as he.

[1] He loved her 'affectu fere immoderato,' 'fere puerili modo' (John of Salisb., *Hist. Pontific.*, Pertz, *Scriptores*, xx., 534, 537).

[2] *De Nugis*, p. 217.

And, with some temerity, I hazard the opinion that he was the happier man of the two. St Louis was, on the religious side, not quite of his own age; religion was an all-absorbing business to him, and he must have made it appear so to his court; about Louis VII.'s religion there was something *naïf* and engaging, and one fancies he must have enjoyed his long pilgrimages, and been excellent company on the way. St Louis, in a far greater France which owed so much to his strength as well as to his goodness, evoked the wider and more enduring loyalty; but Louis VII. won the love of the people round him, yes and of people far away from his domain, of people who had never seen him and hardly realised that they owed fealty to him, to a very remarkable degree. Mr Thackeray has painted for us a later king of the French, *vieux fourbe rompu*, 'going about among the people of Paris with his umbrella' to win popularity; Louis VII. had, so far as we know, not even a substitute for an umbrella; but he constantly walked about Paris entirely unguarded, and was the best friend of the *bourgeoisie*, who simply adored him. It was in his reign that Paris really became the capital, not only of the domain of the Capets, but of France.[1]

[1] There is extant (*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, 1877, pp. 38, 39) a charming picture of Paris at the end of Louis's reign, in 1175, by Guy de Basoches. 'Its situation is delicious, surrounded by corn- and vine-bearing (!) hills. The Seine makes its head, heart, and marrow an island; but there are suburbs on both banks, even the lesser of which would make other cities envious. There are two stone bridges, the greater leading to the northern bank and the English Sea, the lesser to the road to the Loire on the southern bank The former of these bridges is crowded, rich, full of navigation and merchandise; the latter is full of walkers and logicians disputing. On the bosom of the island rises the lofty royal palace,' (the Louvre was only begun by Philip Augustus), which makes Guy burst out into verse. 'In this island, from ancient days, philosophy has mades its royal throne' (which proves that the Schools were still close to the cathedral), 'and the Seven Sisters, the liberal arts, have their perpetual mansion, and here decrees are read and laws in a tone of noble eloquence, and the fountain of salutary learning gushes out.'

Denis and Geneviève were saints of considerable power, and they did not turn a deaf ear to their *protégé*. They must, however, at more than one crisis of King Louis's life, have looked down from heaven with considerable anxiety, as did Athene and Here in the *Iliad;* but at the most dangerous crisis of all, they contrived to cast the apple of religious discord, not only between Henry II. and Becket, but between Frederick Barbarossa and the Papacy. Louis VII.'s alliance with Alexander III. saved France. It is almost an unique instance of such an alliance turning to the benefit of a nationality.

My readers will not, I hope, complain if I pass lightly over many of the details of the life of Louis VII.; I shall do so because so much of it as involves his relations with Henry Plantagenet is matter of common knowledge to readers of English history. Again, in the fourth and fifth chapters of this book, I have given some account of his attitude to Popes Innocent, Eugenius, Hadrian, and Alexander, and to their contemporary emperors, and I shall need to refer to this again only so far as France herself was affected by it.

But though something of the history of the kingdom of Burgundy also has been recorded in my German chapters, it will clear the way for an understanding of Louis VII.'s position if I am allowed to make one or two points on it here. First we must bear in mind the essential distinction between its two portions, Burgundy of the Jura (the later Franche-Comté) the sphere of influence of Besançon and Geneva, and Burgundy of the Rhone (the later Provence and Dauphiné) the sphere of Arles and Vienne. No very accurate line can be drawn between them; now it is the Rhone, now the Isère that forms a temporary boundary; but the union of the Jura district with that of the Rhone and the Alpine district was always an unnatural one. The eastern frontier went so far over the Alps as to include Aosta, the western stretched beyond Rhone and Saône to include the counties of Lyons, Forez, Valentinois, and Vivarais. The really strong people in the kingdom were the great archbishops, Besançon,

Lyons, Vienne, Arles; after them the lay feudatories, Savoy, Provence, Burgundy (*i.e.*, Jurane Burgundy), and the Dauphins of Vienne. We have seen the early Capets looking on impotently at the gripping of suzerainty over the whole of this kingdom by the German kings, Henry II., Conrad II., Henry III.; but the influence which these sovereigns there acquired was mainly in the Jurane region. They were able, however, thereby to keep France from interfering in Italy and to secure the passes of the Alps for themselves and their armies. But the result of the first long German quarrel with the Papacy (1076-1122), was to lose for the Empire all hold on any part of the kingdom of Burgundy; and, if the kings of France had then been able to act seriously outside their domain, the chance of succeeding at once to the lost imperial influence would have been a good one for them. The Burgundian clergy emerged from the struggle strongly papalist, and Pope Calixtus II. had been Archbishop of Vienne. Neither German nor French sovereigns had much to say when the land between the Isère and the sea was partitioned in 1125 between the Count of Barcelona, whose descendants were to be kings of Aragon, and the Count of Toulouse. Thus were created two new fiefs, the county of Provence from the Durance to the sea, and the marquisate of Provence from the Isère to the Durance. In the rivalry between these two fiefs there was to be one day, though not in our period, an opening for the King of France to march in; meanwhile, as French crusaders were continually pouring through the country, French influence naturally grew apace long before French kings could think of interfering in Burgundian politics.

The County of Jurane Burgundy passed, after some struggles, to the girl Beatrice, who married Frederick Barbarossa in 1156, and Frederick, at once and continually, sought to revive the imperial influence, not only in the inheritance of Beatrice, but in the whole of the kingdom. And but for the second German quarrel with the popes (1159-1177), he would probably have been quite

successful. Partly by force (for he ruthlessly employed Brabançon mercenaries there) and partly by persuasion, he forced his schism on many of the Burgundian bishops, he expelled Cistercians, he won over an Abbot of Cluny, the Count of Provence did homage to him, the galleys of Provence helped the galleys of Pisa to watch for the fugitive Pope Alexander. But—and this is my excuse for what may look like a long digression—as soon as Louis VII. had definitely thrown in his lot with Alexander, the whole situation changed. Every malcontent had now someone to look to. Raymond of Toulouse (Marquis of Provence) was the brother-in-law of Louis, and, though a fickle fool, was a useful rallying point for French sympathies. The Count of Forez deliberately abjured the Empire and did homage to France; even Savoy fell away from the imperial side. True, when the schism was over, sympathies veered round or were forced round again; and when France next and finally gets her foot into these regions, it will be in the wake of the sword of religious persecution after the terrible Albigensian crusades.

Let us now look for a moment in another direction. The marriage of Louis and Eleanor had not in feudal law united the Duchy of Aquitaine to the Crown of France; such union could only come if an heir male were born to the pair,[1] but meanwhile Louis was recognised as Duke of Aquitaine. Eleanor was the child and grandchild of men who had supported antipopes, withstood St Bernard, gone, indeed, upon crusades but written rude verses about them afterwards, and generally shown themselves anything but good churchmen. Her influence may have counted for something when Louis VII. quarrelled badly with Innocent II. over the election of an Archbishop of Bourges, and when he supported the infant communes of Rheims and Sens against their archbishops. Such things might and did lead (at Bernard's bidding) to an interdict being laid upon royal domain (1141), almost to an excommunication of the king. Louis also quarrelled with the old

[1] Eleanor bore Louis no son.

trickster, Theobald, about another matter,[1] and Bernard again fell upon him (1142),[2] and again excited Innocent II. It is interesting to see that Louis entirely defeated Theobald in the ensuing war, but was outwitted by the combination of Bernard, Theobald, and Innocent into restoring all his conquests (upon conditions which were instantly broken with the connivance of the Saint and the Pope) at the Treaty of Vitry. It was in this war that Louis committed the dreadful crime,[3] which he expiated by the more dreadful but gallant blunder of the Second Crusade. Theobald went on to spin fresh intrigues against him and Bernard to strike him in his tenderest spot by hinting that he was Queen Eleanor's sixth or seventh cousin,[4] and his marriage an unlawful one. Some sort of peace, however, was patched up before the end of 1143. Louis's last act of vigorous aggression as King of France came in the next year, when, while Geoffrey of Anjou was completing the conquest of Normandy, he hastened to seize, and managed to hold on to, Gisors and

[1] His cousin and seneschal, Raoul of Vermandois, divorced Theobald's niece to marry Eleanor's sister. Theobald was the patron of the Cistercians against the other orders, and especially the patron of Clairvaux.

[2] 'I speak sharply to you because I fear sharper things for you, and I shouldn't fear them so much if I didn't love you so vehemently' (Bernard, Letters 220, 221). Bernard had already been chosen Archbishop of Rheims in 1138, and had refused the see, as he refused all preferment (see Letter 449).

[3] At the siege of Vitry his soldiers set fire to a church full of people, and they were all burned.

[4] They were both descended, according to the Benedictine genealogy, which Molinier (Suger, *Histoire du Roi Louis VII.*, cap. xv., p. 163 *note*) admits to be doubtful, from Theobald Tow-head [? William III.] of Aquitaine, father-in-law (?) of Hugh Capet. This would place six generations between Louis and Eleanor and their nearest common ancestor! John of Salisbury (*Hist. Pontif.*, Pertz, *Scriptores*, xx., 534) says that the queen herself at Antioch (where she was engaged in a violent flirtation) hinted to the king of their relationship, and that Louis only carried her on to Jerusalem by force. Pope Eugenius did everything he could to reconcile them, and forbade any mention of their relationship to be made; this was when they met him at Tusculum on their return from the Crusade

most of the other castles of the Norman Vexin (1144). The next few years were occupied with the preparations for and the immediate results of the Crusade, of which some account will be found in a later chapter.

When Louis went east, Abbot Suger, the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Count of Vermandois were left as regents in France, but all the power and all the hard work fell to the first of these. Strive as he would Suger could hardly withstand the double-barrelled energies of St Bernard and Eugenius, both on French soil (the pope spent much of his time at Rheims), and at the independence of the French Church many successful blows were aimed, blows which it hardly recovered before the reign of St Louis. How Suger managed to feed his king with money is a marvel,[1] for Louis had begun by taking, with papal leave, a heavy *aide* from all the churches which owed allegiance to him, and this had produced much discontent. But he did it somehow and did not impoverish the royal domain in doing it; even when the king came back, half broken-hearted from his failure, the indefatigable old minister was collecting treasure for a new crusade, on which he himself intended in his seventieth year to set out. 'This time,' he said, 'let us do it by sea, with King Roger's alliance and fleet, and without those rascally Greeks,' but he died early in 1152.

(*ibid.*, p. 537). Mr Baskerville calls my attention to a most humorous version of Eleanor's adventures in the East, in the thirteenth century *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims* (*Société de l'Hist. de France*, ed. N. de Wailly, 1876), pp. 3-7: the Queen is so bored by her husband that she has no sooner landed (at Tyre) than she sends a dragoman to Saladin (!) offering him her love, and Saladin sends a galley from Ascalon, which is just going to carry her off. Louis, however, is waked from his bed, and rescues her in time; he at once carries her back to France, where the barons advise him that she is a devil who will kill him, if he does not send her away; but, adds the minstrel, this was a mistake, 'mieuz li venist l'avoir enmurée.'

[1] The abbot seems to have borrowed largely from the Templars, whose wealth was already great, and from the funds of his own very rich church.

Louis recovered from his heart-break, but not from his tender conscience; he divorced his queen in the same year. The story is wholly dark and unintelligible. There seems to be a conspiracy of silence; we do not know Eugenius's opinion nor Bernard's, but the latter certainly hated Eleanor, and of course cared nothing, being no French patriot, about the loss of Aquitaine; Louis may have really been shocked at Eleanor's light conduct;[1] he may have feared the Church's censures on his relationship to her; he may certainly have consoled himself by thinking she had borne him no sons. She at once married Henry Plantagenet, and proceeded to bear him four sons and a daughter in six years. Louis married in 1154 Constance of Castile, who bore him two daughters, Margaret and Alice, and died in 1160. Five weeks afterwards he married Adela of Blois, daughter of his old deceiver Theobald (who had died in 1152), but no son came until 1165.

At the date of his marriage, Eleanor's new husband Henry was merely possessed of the continental inheritance of Anjou and Normandy, and both these countries and his wife's people were kicking vigorously against him; it was not till the autumn of 1153 that his inheritance of England was assured, and not till a year later did he become king. Louis has been blamed for not attacking Normandy energetically in the interval, and he did in fact make some slight frontier war and press the new Count of Champagne into his service. I think the blame unjust; 'France' was not yet, and was at no time during the life of the great Plantagenet, able to take the field on a great scale against Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Aquitaine combined; when to these fighting units the length of the English purse, which could buy mercenary

[1] Walter Map (*De Nugis*, p. 226) says that the queen had already gone wrong with Geoffrey of Anjou, and had also cast *incestos oculos* upon Geoffrey's son Henry, whom she afterwards married. Luchaire (*Inst. Mon.*, ii., 280) sums up the contemporary evidence for her immorality very heavily against her. But it would have been more reasonable to shut her up in a convent after the divorce than to let her go and marry Henry.

soldiers,[1] was added, it would have been very rash to embark on *la grande guerre*. Louis had many subsequent opportunities of *la petite guerre*, and he found even this more than he could manage. He could, for instance, do nothing to prevent Henry's practical absorption of Brittany, nor his capture of Amboise from Blois in 1158. He was tricked, in the marriage treaty between baby Henry and his own still more baby daughter Margaret, in the same year, into promising the Vexin castles as a dowry, and leaving them for the time in the hands of the Templars.

But when Henry proceeded in 1157 to interpret his Duchy of Aquitaine as giving him claims on the city and county of Toulouse, or, in other words, showed a disposition to swallow all Languedoc, Louis, who had just married his own sister to Count Raymond V. of Toulouse, followed Henry's army to the south, and threw himself into the city. Neither king really wished to fight there, and it was something that Henry was the first to retire. But he retired only to push his raids from Normandy nearer to Paris, and to win over for a moment the new Count of Blois to his side; then he got the infants Margaret and Henry married and grabbed all the Vexin. Louis tamely acquiesced, but what else could he do? He even abandoned the defence of Toulouse.

On Louis's other flank Frederick Barbarossa was watering his horses in the Upper Saône, holding diets at Besançon, and talking of the Duchy of Burgundy, and even of Champagne, as 'imperial fiefs'; France was like a nut in a nutcracker. Then came the great stroke of luck, the quarrel between Frederick and the Papacy, to be followed three years later by that between Henry and the see of Canterbury. Louis was at first somewhat bewildered; Alexander, before deciding to seek refuge in France, showed more inclination to conciliate Henry than Louis, whom perhaps he held too meek and mild to be of much account; the Pope even supported

[1] 'Vulgo dictos Brabantiones,' *Hist. de Louis VII.*, in Suger, Molinier, p. 172.

Henry's deliberate trickery in the matter of the baby marriage and the Vexin. Louis was so angry at this, that he refused for some time to receive messages from Alexander,[1] and thought seriously of entering negotiations with Frederick. Interviews on the river Saône were arranged between emperor and king for August 1162; the Count of Champagne acted as stage-manager, and flattered himself that he would bring Louis over to the antipope and the German alliance. But the emperor, or Reginald of Dassel for him, spoilt the game by the amazing impertinence of summoning Henry, Archbishop of Rheims, as an imperial official, to come and give his adhesion to 'Pope' Victor; now this Archbishop was the brother of King Louis. Louis had, it seems, really hoped to bring Alexander with himself to the interview, as Frederick said he intended to bring Victor with himself; but Alexander of course mocked at the idea of having his 'claims discussed'; he was pope and knew it. And the good Louis in much perplexity cried off the interview at the last moment; Champagne, who was very angry, bullied him into asking for another interview a month later, and Louis actually came to the banks of the Saône. This time it was Frederick who made default, and merely sent Reginald, who scandalised all the Frenchmen by telling them 'no, you are not here to discuss the claims of the rival popes, but to hear the imperial decision pronounced on the dispute.' That was *un peu trop fort* even for Louis VII., who galloped back to Dijon and soon threw himself into the arms of Alexander, as he ought to have done when the Pope first left Italy; he might have made some very reasonable terms for the French Church if he had done so. The emperor was never again in a position to make such claims during the lifetime of Louis VII.

In October 1163 Alexander definitely took up his quarters at Sens, and stayed there two years; one can hardly blame him if he used his opportunities for incessant

[1] I do not think that pope and king met in person before August 1162 (at Souvigny).

interference in matters civil as well as ecclesiastical. As a matter of fact nearly every other pope would have used them far more autocratically. And, in a Europe where the emperor was in desperate quarrel with the pope, and the King of England in danger of finding himself in a similar position, it was something for France to be safe under the wing of the Church; one cannot call it an alliance, but it was a protectorate which gave to Louis a position of real importance in the face of two infinitely stronger temporal powers. One of Louis's answers to Henry II. is often quoted; Henry, writing to warn him against receiving the traitor Becket, spoke of that turbulent person as 'formerly archbishop.' "Formerly?" said Louis, "who then has deposed him? I am a king as well as you, but I couldn't depose a single priest!" He added that France 'had not been in the habit of refusing a refuge to exiles.' When the Abbot of Citeaux himself, bribed or in fear, refused to harbour Becket any longer, Louis gave him a tremendous scolding, and put the town of Sens at the archbishop's disposal (1166). A mild frontier war in Normandy and Auvergne was the consequence. Louis held in fact two very strong trumps in his hand, though it was not easy for him to play them in sequence. The murder of Becket, and the subsequent reconciliation of Alexander and Henry was really a loss to France in the long run, though for the time it greatly raised the prestige of the one king, who from perfectly disinterested motives had steadily endeavoured to protect both pope and archbishop.

Once quit of this dreadful quarrel Henry's good luck returned, or rather his ability and energy triumphed. He had by 1173 got his claim to suzerainty over Toulouse fully recognised by Count Raymond; he had stretched out a hand to the Alpine passes and betrothed his youngest son to a Savoyard girl, who was to bring Maurienne as her dower; he had already one daughter married into Saxony, another into Castile, and was about betrothing a third into Sicily. Louis played a most undignified, and rather an unrighteous, part in fomenting

the family discords of the Plantagenets, which brought about the great feudal revolt of 1173-1174; and, when he took the field, he fled at the approach of Henry who came to deliver Rouen from a French siege. No definite peace was concluded till 1177, and then it was a peace forced on Henry by threats of interdict from a papal legate; Louis at Ivry at least reaped the fruit of his past devotion to the papal cause. Henry ceded no conquests, but probably felt that he had reached the limit thereof. The last act of the old King of France was the coronation of his son Philip[1] at Rheims in November 1179. He was too ill to be present; and ten months later he was dead. It is characteristic that he had been struck with paralysis as he returned from a pilgrimage to Becket's bones at Canterbury where he had prayed, not in vain, for the life of this darling son.

Perhaps you will say that his was a futile and a worthless life? a record of failures? and especially of failure to defend his country and Church against the dominant theocracy, a fault to which, in other cases, the writer of this book has not shown himself lenient? Well, something of this must be admitted; and it must be admitted also, that, as churchmen wrote the histories, they may have drawn too favourable a character of Louis VII.[2] But yet the fact remains that France was a much stronger country, a much

[1] It is the last instance of such a coronation in the lifetime of the reigning king; in the thirteenth century heredity was too firmly established to need such confirmation.

[2] Walter Map at least was no friend to churchmen, and he calls Louis *Christianissimus et mansuetissimus hominum*, affable to all poor people, his own as well as others; yet a most strict judge, though he often wept at the justice he had to do (*De Nugis Curialium*, v. 5, Camden Soc., pp. 211, 212). It is from Map that many of the stories come about the king's *bonhomie*, fearlessness, and simplicity, among others the odd criticism on his neighbour kings and kingdoms:—'Greece and Sicily have gold and silk, but for men they have only talkers, not fighters; Germany has warlike men and horses, but nothing else, for Charlemagne gave all its lands to the bishops; England has everything, men, horses, gold, silk, gems, fruits, beasts of chase; we in France have nothing but bread and wine and gaiety' (*ibid.*, p. 216).

richer country, and an infinitely more nationalist country in 1180 than in 1137. And she was becoming self-conscious concerning her nationality. Take as an example of this the birth of the boy who was to be Philip Augustus. Some of my readers may be familiar with the story of that day in 1811 when Paris was hushed in expectancy of the *accouchement* of Marie-Louise, and how anxiously the numbers of the cannon shots were counted by the waiting crowd, until the hundred and first told that the 'King of Rome' was born. The crowds were greater, the demonstrations more magnificent then than in 1165, and there was a superb manager to set the scenery. But I doubt if the joy was half so spontaneous or so heartfelt as that described by Gerald the Welshman, under whose window the populace danced and shouted in wild delight in 1165:—'Now we've got a King who will shamefully shuffle your King of England one day.'[1]

This priest-ridden king deserved at least some of the affection he got, from the good justice he did upon his own domains. Louis could be quite terrible when he liked, especially in his law-courts; neither fear nor favour would buy off the guilty. The King's Court, now nearly always in session at Paris, was becoming a professional and a specialised body of judges; it was less and less attended by the great nobles, and very much the same sort of clerks and lawyers sat in it as sat in his rival's court at Westminster, though as yet there was no French Glanville, hardly even a Richard Lucy. It is very rare now for any immediate vassal of the king on his domain to refuse obedience to his writs, and if he does it is always very much the worse for him. The very men whose fathers' donjons Louis VI. had

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, ed. Rolls Series, viii., 292-293. Gerald's words are, 'You never heard such a ringing of bells, or saw such a blaze of torches; anyone who didn't know the reason would have said Paris was on fire. I had just gone to sleep and was waked by the noise, and rushed to the window, and saw there two old crones dancing along in the crowd waving their torches and yelling.' See also the continuator of the *Histoire de Louis VII.* (in Molinier, Suger, p. 177) for the story of the reception of the news at the Abbey of Saint-Germain.

been obliged to burn every few years, act as justiciars for Louis VII.

Protection is extended to the serfs, not only in words about 'natural liberty' with an echo in them of Roman Law, occasionally even with a foretaste of the style of 1789, but also with a strong hand against such of the royal agents as would ill-treat them; emancipation is also given freely, and immigration, both into old royal cities and into the *Villes-neuves* which Louis founded, is encouraged in every possible way; and the Church often complains of her serfs being stolen from her for this purpose. Gilds (though Frenchmen don't like calling them such) are chartered in large numbers, and the names of these *métiers* indicate both wealth and an advanced subdivision of labour in the cities. The king has not always the courage of his opinions against great bishops in the matter of the development of the communes, nor is he always more sure of his own mind on the subject than his father was; but on the whole he believes in the movement, and sees that it may be regulated for the benefit of crown and nation.

Even against his greater feudality Louis is not so powerless as he has been made to appear; at least he evokes from their mediate vassals, and especially from the clergy dependent on them, a constantly increasing desire to break away rungs from the feudal ladder and to depend solely and directly on the Crown. In the Middle Ages neither smaller lay nobles, nor cities, nor bishops sought a position like that from a wholly worthless or powerless king. 'Give us a charter of protection sealed with your Majesty's seal' is a cry heard, before 1180, from the Loire to the Mediterranean. "Don't send delegates," writes an abbot to him in 1164, "come yourself; all the world here cries, 'where is the king our *seigneur* and when is he coming to help us?'" Perhaps the Crown gained as much influence in Burgundy and Champagne as it lost in the west—and always through the abbots and bishops; and the bishops of Langres, Macon, Autun, Châlons-sur-Saône were more powerful than the Duke of Burgundy and his

local counts. Far into Dauphiné and the Lyonnais such relations extended, and bits of the kingdom of Burgundy began, as we have seen, to do homage to Paris. It was the same with the bishoprics and abbacies of the central mass of France; the counts of Auvergne and Nevers might give trouble and incessant trouble, but the Bishop of Clermont and the Abbot of Vézelay would call in the king, who would come and beat their counts in the field and even imprison them (1163-1169).

Even Toulouse, which had had no sort of intercourse with any earlier Capet, was brought into the sphere of influence when Raymond V. married Louis's sister Constance, and when Louis in 1154-1155 made the pilgrimage to Spain. As he went and returned, he scattered right and left privileges and immunities to the clergy of Languedoc, and began to bind them thereby to his crown. And soon small lay vassals of Raymond began to appeal to Louis against their own suzerain, his brother-in-law; Raymond was a silly light fellow, and coquetted with Henry; all the more reason for his vassals to look to Louis; and it was Louis who came, and for the time saved the city of Toulouse itself from the English King. It is not always the clergy to whom Louis promised his favour against the count or duke; sometimes it was to the *bourgeoisie* against the bishop or abbot. Cluny, though it had been so odious to St Bernard, is beloved and protected against a robber count by King Louis, and returns his affection; his brother Henry at Rheims is a centre of royalism, and is almost as powerful as the other Henry of the district (the Count of Champagne). Louis's long and delightful pilgrimages, made without any pomp or extravagance, not only helped to endear him to all classes (at how many convents and castles must he have stayed during those journeys!), but they 'showed the successor of Charlemagne' in places which had hardly seen a king since that hero's death. He travelled into the Alps to visit the Grande Chartreuse, to the rugged north-west of Spain to kneel to St James at Compostella, to Canterbury to pray for his son's health to Thomas Becket.

Finally it cannot be denied that Popes Eugenius III. and Alexander III. were much more powerful *intra Gallias* than Gregory VII. had been, or than Innocent III. was to be; Eugenius, morever, exploited the French Church a good deal, partly at the bidding of Bernard for purposes which that saint deemed infinitely more important than the temporal welfare of the French people, partly for mere papal lucre. But Alexander can hardly be said to have done this; if his hands were not always clean from English gold (and we have really no means of knowing that they were not) he was, during his stay in France, in a very difficult position; he needed Louis quite as much as Louis needed him, but he needed to avoid a bad breach with Henry even more. And it is to Alexander's great credit that, as Frederick's chances of triumph over him successively vanished, he did not throw away Louis VII. or begin to bully him as a person no longer necessary; almost any other pope would have done so.

I conclude then, somewhat to my own amazement, that the French Church, Crown, and people actually gained from their very intimate connection with the Papacy from 1163 till 1180.

At the risk of some repetition it would perhaps be well, before we take leave of France, to summarise some of our conclusions on the position of the Crown and on the state of society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In theory the early Capetians, like the later Carolingians, possessed all the prerogatives and powers of Charlemagne; in practice the exercise of such prerogatives and powers had begun to disappear before Charlemagne was cold in his grave. And the sources of Charlemagne's wealth, the vast estates of the Crown, had been almost wholly alienated before Hugh Capet became king. It is of course not true that Hugh Capet granted 'home rule all round' in return for the Crown; but it is true that he alienated large portions of the landed wealth of his father in order to purchase support both before and after his

accession. And so the domain that Robert inherited was, as we saw above, small. Both he and his son Henry still spoke of that domain as *fiscus*, and, whether it was held alodially or in fief, it was managed in the same way and produced the same sort of rents and profits. Each manor or group of manors had a steward or *prévôt* (*præpositus*, the English reeve) who compounded for its profits with the king. These profits would consist of the ordinary feudal dues, and of tolls, justice-fines, and rents. Readers of the English *Dialogue on the Exchequer* may remember that the author, writing towards the end of Henry II.'s reign, says he has seen people who have seen the king's rents paid in kind; but in France some domainial rents were still paid in kind almost to the date of the *Dialogue*. Just as the English kings did, so the Capetians took arbitrary *tailles* or tallages from their domains, exacted fines for encroachments (*essarts*) on their forest lands, claimed on their journeys free hospitality (*droit de gîte*) from the churches. Such vexatious dues were just beginning to be commuted for fixed payments when Louis VII. died; all communal charters aimed at limiting them. Beyond the boundary of royal domain we can hardly say that the Crown possessed any rights of raising money with the exception of the *régale*. This was the right of administering, for its own profit, the lands of a bishopric during a vacancy of the see, and included, till Louis VII., the right of tallaging the bishop's tenants. We all remember what a fuss was made by Anselm over the claim of our William II. to exercise such a *régale* in England. In France it was not universal; the southern provinces and, in the north, Brittany had always been exempt, and in the twelfth century Normandy and Anjou were exempt. The only 'general tax' levied in France before the death of Louis VII. was the aid for the Second Crusade, and we do not know for certain whether it was universal or fell on Church property only; at any rate it produced great outcry, and was collected with great difficulty. We may say, then, that, with the exception of his domain, the king could count upon no regular annual revenue at all. When

he wanted cash he was driven to borrow from the churchmen. And this he did freely; if with one hand he gave away lands for the good of his soul, with the other he constantly borrowed back their rents for the good of his body.

The worst feature of the situation was the incurable mediæval habit of paying the royal officials, such as the *prévôts*, in land. Such men are no sooner in office than they begin to make their official lands hereditary. Louis VII. has to appoint a lesser official called a *bailli* to watch his *prévôts*, but the *bailli*, paid in the same fashion, soon goes the way of the *prévôt*. The communal charters constantly have to obtain the king's protection against his own paid servants. The great officers of state, such as the Chancellor, the Seneschal, the Chamberlain, the Butler, and the Constable, were successors of the old 'palace officials' of Charlemagne. One supposes that each of these had originally some special function, *e.g.*, that the Chancellor ought to see to the king's correspondence, prepare his writs, and act as adviser on all ecclesiastical matters; that the Constable ought to see to the royal stud and to lead the king's knights to battle; the Chamberlain, to busy himself with the royal *gîte*; the Butler and the Seneschal with the royal *bouche*. But there is no evidence that in the twelfth century such officers, though they were bound to attend the King's Council, exercised any functions at all; their titles were mere titles of honour attached to broad lands (usually within the royal domain), and too often to dangerous castles. They were not yet necessarily hereditary officers, but they were becoming so; the king was always afraid of them, and frequently kept their offices vacant. Below them was growing up that large class of trained agents of the monarchy which was to do the real work of the successors of Louis VII.

Louis VII. himself has a few of these. He has what an English constitutional lawyer would call his 'ordinary council' as distinct from his 'great council.' He is painfully reconstructing, on a more modest scale, the *palatium* of the Carolings. It consists of small men, laymen, or clerks, learned in feudal custom, perhaps

already with some vague ideas of the principles of Roman law-books. But Louis is as distinctly behind his contemporary, Henry II., in this judicial sphere, as he is in the organisation of his exchequer or the collection of his rents; he is even behind Frederick Barbarossa whose jurists in Italy do really attempt to apply Roman law. Ordeals of one kind or another, duel, water, iron, oath, are still Louis's methods of proof. Nor have we any means of knowing whether any special class of cases will come before his Ordinary, or before his Great Council, though it is probable that most judicial business will be done in the former; suits, for instance, between clerks and laymen, between a commune and a bishop, between two laymen, and suits about right to land, to tolls, charters, services, ownership of serfs. Very rarely are there appeals from the episcopal courts, and there are none from the *prévôtal*. Nor do we know of appeals from this nascent *curia regis* to the Great Council. Probably a disappointed clerical suitor ought to appeal to the Pope, but we have no evidence that this was practised on the same scale as in England or Germany. That the Great Council ought to meet thrice a year is quite plain; who attended it is not so plain. All tenants-in-chief ought to come, even from the remotest corner of France. But the outer ring of the feudality, which had attended with fair frequency in the eleventh, ceased to come in the twelfth century. In the eleventh, the absence of a Count of Anjou would have been equivalent to a declaration of war; in the twelfth, the king thanked God that he was rid of a knave and got his business done the quicker. And one result of this was that, when the (later) kings were ready and able to act as kings of all France, they could more easily dispense with the dangerous 'counsel and consent' of a Count of Toulouse or a Duke of Brittany; they could ignore the great feudatories and treat all Frenchmen as their own *fideles*. Even of the archbishops, Rheims and Sens are Louis VI.'s and Louis VII.'s only constant attendants; of the greatest of the lay barons, Flanders and Champagne are pretty regular. The tenants-in-chief, lay and ecclesiastical, on royal domain must come, and no

doubt did. No mediæval king could act without some sort of 'counsel and consent' of this kind; but this was not so much from any implied feudal obligation as from the fact that, without the consent of each great man, the king could not make war, or get his justice executed; he had few troops, and no powerful sheriffs. Such a court, when it met, would be the highest known court of justice, and was the undoubted germ of the French States-General, as its contemporary across the Channel was of the English Parliament.

Now, if we substitute for Louis VI. or Louis VII. a Raymond of Toulouse or a William of Aquitaine, a Fulk of Anjou, or a William or Henry of Normandy, we shall see that, whatever they may have been doing in the eleventh century, in the twelfth each was acting, or ought to have been acting, within his domain in much the same fashion as Louis within his; he should hold his Great Council at Toulouse, or Poitiers, or Angers, or Rouen, try his law-suits in it, and get the consent of his vassals to help him in war; he should collect his rents and tallage his domain in similar fashion; nay, he does (whether he should is another matter) nominate his bishops much like a King of France. The only difference is that he should also do homage to the King of France, and that each successive holder of the ducal or comital title is bound to seek from the king admission to his fief. Absolute heredity of fiefs is not clearly established before the twelfth century; look at Louis VI.'s gallant, and for a moment successful, attempt in 1128 to nominate a Count of Flanders. But when absolute heredity is established, then the question of homage becomes a very difficult one; for it is a far more serious thing to do homage to a king whose monarchy is so evidently a coming force in politics than it was to do it to Robert or Henry I.; the tie of fealty is being revived, and fealty in the long run will 'rope in' everyone, and will render homage a worthless form. Again homage is complicated by the intricate irregularity of feudal landowning; estates have been so much mixed, and married, and bartered, and granted, that it is becoming a question for specialists to

say 'who holds what of whom.'[1] 'Everyone held of everyone else' is hardly too strong an expression to use of the feudal mosaic. And this was probably very much to the advantage of the Crown. Yet the kings, not unlike the Salians in Germany, frequently made 'homage-tours' at the beginning of their reigns, and picked up many doubtful or half-forgotten homages; they picked up oaths of fealty as well, especially from those who were being, or who feared to be, oppressed by the great feudatories.

Above all they picked up such things from the churches. We can never insist too much upon the very intimate connection between Crown and Church. There had been exactly the same in Germany, but for the German kings it was robbed of its fruits by their (unavoidable) quarrels with the popes. The great abbeys even more than the bishops were the mainstay of the Capets, Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin-of-Tours being among the first and best. Whereas in Germany abbots and monks were too often a papal garrison, in France they were largely on the side of the Crown. The Crown rewarded them with lavish exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction. They clutched the skirts of the king's surcoat:—'Oh save us from our lay advocates, save us from the feudal robbers.' The nascent *curia regis* of Louis VII. was incessantly busy with suits between abbeys and those grasping 'advocates' who were supposed to be their protectors. See how far-off Cluny, which had no sort of feudal justification for doing so, constantly appealed to the King of France, and how steady was his patronage of that famous abbey. Moreover, the king had little, though occasionally some, difficulty in securing for himself the nomination of the more important abbots. In the nomination to bishoprics he was not always successful, even in his own immediate sphere of influence, but on the whole we may say that he just defeated the Pope in this matter, and in the correlative matter of investiture. We

[1] *E.g.*, the Count of Champagne, the king's next neighbour, held hardly anything of the Crown, but much of the Duke of Burgundy, more of the Bishops of Langres, Sens, and Rheims (Luch., *Inst. Mon.*, ii., 28).

have seen how Ivo of Chartres snubbed the papal legates, and proved that the kings of France made no claim to confer spiritual gifts by their formula of investiture. The result of this alliance between Church and Crown was that the diocesan and abbatial militia was one of the strongest elements in the army that followed a King of France to battle. He had indeed little else upon which to rely. From his own domain he might raise perhaps some two hundred mounted knights; from the great feudatories, unless upon rare occasions,[1] another two hundred. The communal militia may have taken the field upon unrecorded occasions, but the real service they rendered was the defence of their own walls, 'held for the king.' And only very rarely was the royal purse able, as Henry II.'s constantly was, to hire mercenaries; the first recorded instance is in a small war of Louis VII. in 1138.

When we turn from the Crown and the barons to the humbler classes in the State, we shall find the twelfth century well begun before much is done for them of which record remains. But we should be wrong in concluding hastily that nothing was done. Some of the *Villes-neuves*, of which so much is heard after 1100, did most probably arise as fortified posts, deliberately planted and peopled with sturdy men, to resist the pirates in the ninth century. And such men must have been largely drawn from the unfree rural classes. Among these classes we shall find, in the France as well as in the England of the twelfth century, every degree of unfreedom short of actual slavery; and, as Maitland taught us to find in England, so we shall find in France that freedom or unfreedom is attached to the soil rather than the person; it 'takes root in certain acres.' Thus it is quite possible for a free man to be subject, for any servile acres he may hold, to

[1] When the great feudatories were in earnest they could give him a really large army, *e.g.*, in 1059, 1071, 1124. But a great baron could satisfy custom by sending ten knights only. At Brémule in 1119 Louis had only four hundred knights. (Luchaire, *Inst. Mon.*, ii., 48 *n.*).

arbitrary *taille*, to restrictions on marriage, to *mainmorte*.[1] And these, together with labour rents, are the customary burdens of serfdom. But even new *coloni* or *hospites* planted on royal domain in the twelfth century are only partially free, and it was probably the same with the men planted in the *Villes-neuves*. The Crown, however, felt the need of extending the cultivable and rent-paying area of its domain, and was enlightened enough to see that partially free men would be able to pay more rent than serfs. Thus, though no wholesale emancipation of serfs on domain takes place before the last year of Louis VII., the burden of *mainmorte* has been abolished in the diocese of Orleans in 1147, and charters of emancipation have already begun to be granted to individual serfs. The communal movement in the towns powerfully stimulated a corresponding movement in the country; or, perhaps we should rather say, extended itself into the country. We begin to hear in Louis VII.'s reign of federations of villages getting charters of partial emancipation from their lords; that king gave one, during a vacancy of the see of Laon, to a large number of villages of the district, and, directly a new bishop was appointed, it led to a war, the king was beaten, and the charter was forfeited. But such charters must have been purchased with cash, and the unfree rural classes must therefore have been able to amass some savings.

As regards the origin of the town communes themselves, of which I have already given some account, the amount of ink which has been spilt to account

[1] By which a serf who had no children could make no will, even though he had collateral relatives; the *seigneur* was his heir. The term *mainmortable* was applied to such a serf. Both the substantive and the adjective have, however, a second sense, not to be confused with the first, implying, as does 'mortmain' in English law, the condition of property belonging to an undying corporation. Voltaire invented for it the ridiculous etymology that, when a serf died without effects, the right hand of the dead man was brought to his *seigneur*. The real derivation is akin to that of our own law term; the hand that should bequeathe or alienate the property is *amorti*, 'extinct,' 'without power to do so.'

for the most natural thing in the world, is prodigious. Had they any continuity from Gallo-Roman times? Was a commune a development of the Germanic *centena* or hundred? Were the *échevins* (aldermen) descendants of the Frankish *scabini?* Is the idea of a gild, or association of persons engaged in the same occupation, Germanic or Roman? Can we 'switch on' the town militia, the town court, to the militia and court-of-judgment of the *Treuga Dei* of the eleventh century? Did the whole thing spring from the special immunities enjoyed by the bishops, in whose towns the most vigorous communes sprang up? None of these questions can be completely answered, partly because names, especially in mediæval Latin, change their meaning from century to century, partly because survivals from all periods very easily get pasted into later institutions. Associations, whether religious or mercantile, were the very sinews of mediæval life, and, in the days of the pirates as in the days of the *Treuga Dei*, such societies as those of the French towns must have been constantly forced into closer cohesion, may even have sought some legal expression of their cohesion. 'There was a *communitas* before there was a *communa*,' even if its elements were servile. But why should it be assumed—for it is incapable of proof—that the main elements of communal life were unfree? There were certainly some free persons residing within towns. Yet we cannot say for certain that clerks or nobles residing within the walls must be, or even could be, sworn members of the commune. The communal charters contain such various, such discordant, provisions, that it would be rash to affirm that anything is 'of the essence' of a commune.[1]

But one thing is clear, that, once a commune has been constituted, it becomes a unit in the feudal mosaic. It gets duties to the Crown or lord and performs them like any other vassal. The *maire* leads its troops to the host

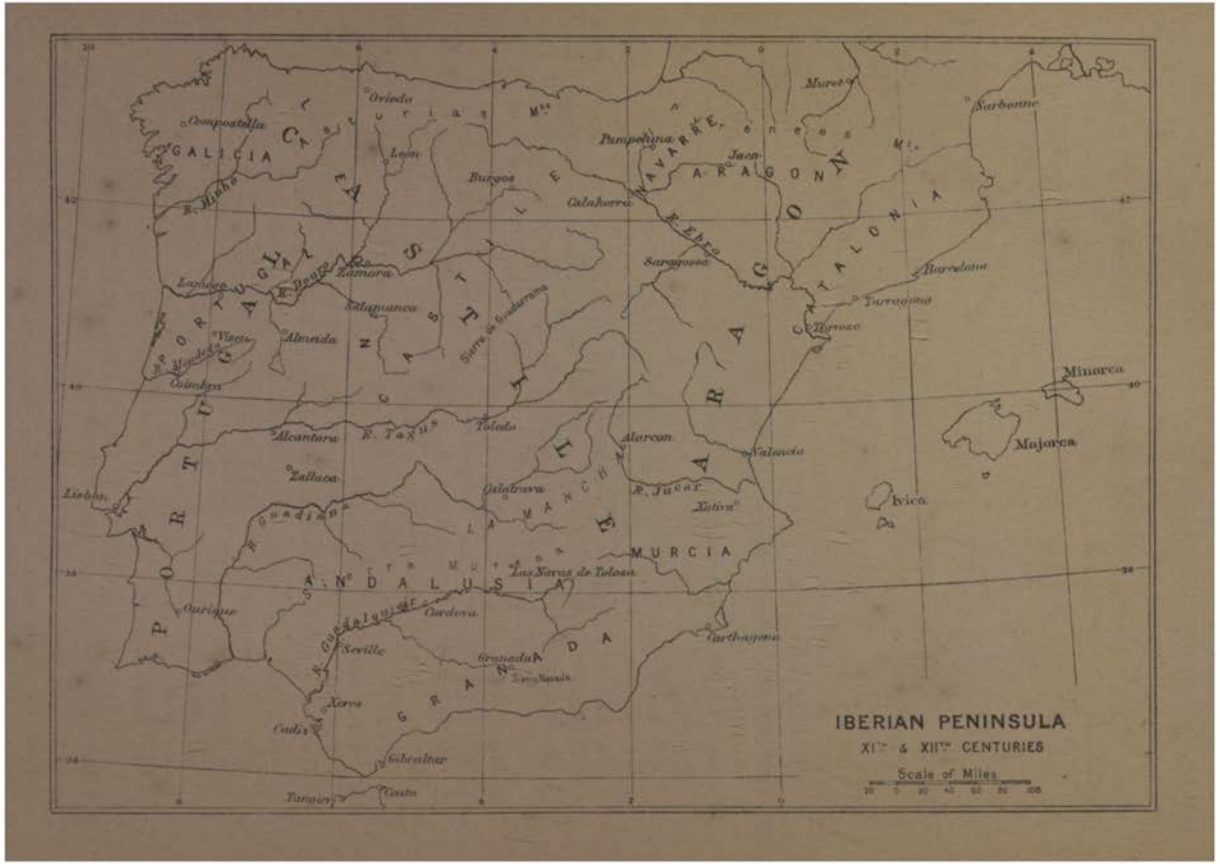
[1] *E.g.*, most charters expressly forbid the tempting into the town of rural serfs from outside, but some permit it. It was the very thing the feudal lords would least like.

instead of the royal *prévôt;* the *maire* and *échevins* sit in judgment, as the king's, bishop's, or baron's agents had sat. The same persons had to see to the careful repair of the (king's) walls, and to keep watch and ward. The same persons had to raise, by internal rating of themselves and of their fellow-townsmen, the sums necessary for these purposes, necessary also for the purchase of fresh charters, for prolonged lawsuits over the interpretation of existing charters. Herein, unfortunately, lay the seeds of much jobbery, bribery, and fraud, and of ultimate ruin. One need not suppose that French burgesses were more corrupt than those of English, German, or Italian mediæval boroughs, or greater jobbers than the municipal councillors of any modern English city; but the trade of their towns was not great enough to stand the criminal character of their finance. Within two centuries most of them were deep in debt, and not a few were bankrupt. They were obliged to call in the aid of the Crown, or to submit to the king stepping in unasked; the king then cancelled or suspended their charters, and proceeded to treat them as part of his own domain. The communal movement of the twelfth century failed quite as conspicuously as the parliamentary movement of the fourteenth.

Far better off in the long run were the *Villes Privilégiées.* They may have had little self-government (we know of none at Orleans or even at Paris in our period), but they had from Louis VI. and Louis VII. much that few English towns got before Richard and John, namely, fixation of tallages; limitation of fines, of bail, and of military service; regular and even justice from the *prévôt;* protection of their gilds; leave to sue for debts in the King's Court; leave to admit new burgesses. The fortresses in them were the king's, and he garrisoned them and kept a sharp eye on the *châtelain* who commanded the garrison. It is ridiculous to speak of men in such towns as being unfree because they could not elect local tradesmen to levy rates on them, and to lease the empty spaces within the walls at low rents to their own kinsmen.

The above outline is intended to show how very active

the several elements of French life were at the death of Louis VII., and what great promise they showed for the immediate future. Of all French rulers, his son Philip II., called Augustus, is the least known and perhaps the least knowable. But, if his personal character escapes us, his task is perfectly obvious, the welding of these elements into a foundation-course for a strong, centralised, and beneficent monarchy of a thoroughly national complexion. I have not ventured to travel in this chapter beyond the year 1180, because the first twenty years occupied with this task, although chronologically to be reckoned in the twelfth, are, in every other respect, a part of the coming age, the great thirteenth century.


IBERIAN PENINSULA
XIth & XIIth CENTURIES
Scale of Miles
GALICIA
ASTURIAS
LEON
CASTILLE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
CATALONIA
PORTUGAL
LA MANCHA
MURCIA
ANDALUSIA
GRANADA
Oviedo
Compostella
León
Burgos
Pamplona
Jaca
Murets
Narbonne
Calahorra
Sarragossa
Barcelona
Tarragona
Tortosa
Leyre
Zamora
Salamanca
Almeida
Viseu
Coimbra
Lisbon
Toledo
Alcantara
Zallaca
Alarcon
Valencia
Minorca
Majorca
Ibica
Xativa
Cuenca
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Xeres
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Carthagena

ARGUMENT OF CHAPTER VII

The history of Spain in our period is even simpler than that of France, and might be condensed into single phrase — the reconquest of the Peninsula from the Moslem. This was a process carried on by an advance on each wing, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and also in the centre; it was carried on by the several different branches of the old Romano-Gothic-Iberian people, and almost without foreign help; as a rule, each of the kingdoms is attacking its nearest Moors independently. These kingdoms are frequently fighting each other as well, but on occasions they combine, indeed much oftener than Islam, which after the fall of the Ommiad Caliphate is divided into Emirates usually at war with each other, combines against them. Twice Islam calls in African help, and a fresh wave of Moslem conquest threatens to submerge the growing Christian states, but each time this passes away and the Christian reconquerors leap forward. At the same time, it is almost as much a racial as a religious quarrel; there is at first little bigotry in it, though the Spaniards were the true inventors and the first exponents of Crusades. The Crusading knight, with all his virtues and more than his usual ferocity, is a Spanish product. He is very often in rebellion against his own kings, and rather than not fight someone, he will occasionally help an Emir. The few cities also possess warlike populations, are a useful element in the reconquest, and get great privileges as its result; the Christian populations in the south, under Moorish sway, welcome the reconquest. There is no true feudalism, for the Christians are, more frequently than not, an armed and advancing camp; there is some form of serfdom for the cultivating class, but we know little about it. The free parliamentary government of Castile and Aragon, with which Whig historians have made play, has been much overrated; there are indeed few 'institutions' of any sort, except the civic liberties, in the Peninsula. But there is immensely strong and growing national feeling

without any desire for close unity; there is great resentment when the Hildebrandine popes force the Roman ritual on the several Spanish churches. Had it not been for the pilgrimages to Compostella in the north-west, and for the connection, affecting the north-east, between Catalonia, Aragon, Languedoc, and Provence, mediæval Spain might have continued to resemble, what she perhaps is by nature, a piece of Africa. Not much that was to be regretted was destroyed in the reconquest; the Moors of the twelfth century had become, with a few exceptions in the still active schools at Cordova, as barbarous as their conquerors.

TABLE OF THE SEVERAL ROYAL FAMILIES OF THE SPANISH PENINSULA (see next page).

NOTE.—On the north-west the oldest Christian kingdom, formed by the fugitives from the first Moorish conquest in the eighth century, has its first capital at Oviedo, its next at Leon. In the north-centre we do not know whether the little kingdom of Navarre, with its capital at Pampeluna in the Western Pyrenees, (i.) has any early connection with that of Leon, or (ii.) has an origin entirely independent, or (iii.) is an offshoot of the 'Spanish March' created by Charlemagne; but the first kingdom of Aragon, with its capital at Jaca, is clearly an offshoot of Navarre, as that of Castile, in the west-centre, is an offshoot of Leon. On the north-east the county of Catalonia or Barcelona is clearly the offshoot of the Caroling foundation; early in the tenth century, if not in the ninth, it loses all connection with the Frank Empire. We may begin the table somewhat late.

(Kingdom of Leon.)
Alfonso V., 999-1028.
Bermudo III., died 1037.

(County of Castile.)
Ferdinand Gonzalez, died 970, his grandson dies in 1017.

(Kingdom of Navarre.)
SANCHO the Great, 970-1035, seizes Castile, 1017, and Aragon (? date).

(Kingdom of Aragon.)

(County of Barcelona or Catalonia.)
(*See* Table VII., Chapter VI.

Sancha = FERDINAND I., died 1065.
(*First union of Leon and Castile.*)

Line of Navarre, which goes, after six male generations of unimportant people, to Blanche, who marries Theobald of Champagne, and thence by a daughter to King Philip IV. of France.

Ramiro I., died 1063.
Ramiro II., died 1094.

(*A new division.*)

ALFONSO VI., died 1109. **(Leon, 1065), (Castile, 1072).**
(*Second union of Leon and Castile.*)

Sancho II., died 1072, **(Castile.)**

Peter I., died 1104.

ALFONSO I., the Battler, died 1134, also King of Navarre, married Urraca, heiress of Castile.

Ramiro III., the Monk, died 1137.
Petronilla, married Raymond-Beranger IV. of Catalonia.

Raymond of Burgundy. = URRACA, died 1126. = Alfonso I., of Aragon.

(Kingdom of Portugal.)
Teresa, married Henry of Burgundy, made Count of Portugal.

ALFONSO II. of Aragon and Catalonia, died 1196.

ALFONSO VII., called the Emperor, died 1157.

Alfonso I. of Portugal, died 1185.
Sancho I., died 1211, and later Kings of Portugal.

PETER II., died 1213, fought at Las Navas de Tolosa, 1212.

(*A new division.*)

Ferdinand II., died 1188. **(Leon.)**

Sancho III., died 1158. **(Castile.)**

JAMES the Conqueror, died 1276, and later Kings, ancestors of

ALFONSO VIII., died 1214, married Eleanor, daughter of our King Henry II., victor at Las Navas de Tolosa, 1212.

Alfonso IX., died 1229. = Berengaria, Regent for her son.

Henry I., died 1217.

Blanche, married Louis VIII. of France.
Saint Louis IX. of France.

SAINT FERDINAND III., victor of Cordova, died 1252.
(*Third and Final union of Leon and Castile.*)

Alfonso X., called the Wise, ancestor of the lawgiver and historian, died 1284.

Queen ISABELLA = FERDINAND, the Catholic.
(*Final union of Castile and Aragon in their descendants.*)

CHAPTER VII

SPAIN, 1000-1212

SPAIN cannot be refused a place among the Children of the Roman Empire, but her geography and the vicissitudes of her history had long cut her off from her brothers and sisters. She was kidnapped into an alien nursery, and developed, in consequence, peculiar idiosyncrasies of character.

I suppose one may safely assume that, in spite of some original affinity between Iberian and Berber, there was no colonisation of Spain on a great scale either by Berber or Arab, any more than there had been by Vandal, Sueve, or Goth.[1] Tarik's raid of 711 had been intended to be only a raid, and the subsequent conquest was accidental and of later conception. The number of Africans that remained and settled in Spain cannot have been very great; it would be greatest in the southern provinces of Andalusia and Murcia. And, for geographical reasons, there can have been, over the greater part of the Peninsula, but little 'peaceful penetration' from other countries. The racial basis of the Spanish people was and remains 'Celtiberian' (whatever that may mean); but this had been Romanised only to a lesser degree than that of Gaul had been.

In one respect Spain remained more Roman than Gaul; like Gaul she was a land of cities, but, unlike the Gallic, these had never been subjected to feudal pressure; neither Goth nor Arab had seriously interfered with the

[1] My readers may remember that, in my earlier volume, I profess complete scepticism concerning mediæval figures, especially concerning those of armies and invasions.

municipal self-government of her cities. Perhaps, then, Spain can claim to be the only country in which there *may* have been continuity of municipal life from Roman times. During, and for some time after the Christian reconquest, which will be the subject of this chapter, it was immensely to the interest of the Christian kings to develop the fighting spirit of the cities, and this could best be done by guaranteeing to them extensive privileges of self-government. Towns were even founded on the 'frontier' (*i.e.*, the debatable land between the territories of Cross and Crescent) with special *fueros* (*fora*, privileges)[1] to attract colonists and soldiers. All citizens served in the militia, the richer in an urban cavalry, the poorer on foot. The free election of *alcaldes* (mayors) and other magistrates accompanied such privileges as a matter of course. No doubt such extensive grants of privilege had another and a less foreseen result; it helped to stamp upon the Spaniards the spirit of isolation and particularism, which was afterwards one of their most marked characteristics. Even during the reconquest, it was not so much 'Spain for the Spaniards' or 'Spain for the Christians' that was the animating cry, as 'each man for his own *pueblo*' (people, district, city, colony).

In most other respects Spain had become, by the time our period opens, the least Roman of the Children, the least willing to relearn the lessons of Roman civilisation. Except upon her eastern coasts she looks away from the Mediterranean; except in the isolated province of Catalonia, the Romanising influence of Provence and Languedoc is conspicuous by its absence. Italian influence is almost non-existent until the connection between Aragon and Sicily begins in the late thirteenth century. The popes seem hardly to have heard of Spain, and Spain seems hardly to have heard of the popes, between the days of the second and the seventh Gregory. That illustrious brigand the Cid, on conquering Valencia from an Emir, not only nominates a bishop thereof, but actually

[1] The first known *fuero*, in what afterwards became Castile, is that of Leon (1030); the first in Aragon is that of Jaca (1064).

creates a see without dreaming of the need of papal confirmation. The first active interferences of Alexander II. and Gregory VII. with the old Spanish ritual were met with howls of indignation, and the will of these popes was enforced with great difficulty.

French influence was equally repudiated. Though French, Aquitanian, Burgundian, Norman, and even English knights poured over the Pyrenees to assist in those 'Crusades' against the Moors, which were first invented in Spain; though some few of them settled there, so that in Toledo there was a 'Street of the Franks'; though Santiago di Compostella became the most popular pilgrimage-place in Western Europe; though both the Templars and the Knights of St John got rich endowments in the Peninsula; though one can find instances of reforming French bishops and abbots appointed by Spanish sovereigns to Spanish benefices;[1] yet the jealous Castilian would never admit the Frank intruder on a footing of equality with himself. And so Castilian civilisation developed itself upon native lines, and without any of those traces of French spirit which obtained such hold among the Italians, the Germans, and the English. To a certain extent the past history of the two countries accounts for this; the comparatively slight de-romanisation that Gaul got, she got early, and she recovered from it early; Rome soon came to her own again in Gaul. Spain retained her Roman civilisation two centuries longer than Gaul, but when she lost it, at the Arab conquest, she lost it to a far greater degree than Gaul, and so she took much longer to come back into the fold. She had to wait till the thirteenth century before she got anything like a Charlemagne. Isidor of Seville might write far better Latin than Gregory of Tours, but Alcuin and Eginhard, Gerbert and Fulbert found no parallels in Spain. And this was in spite of the fact that the Visigothic code of Law, called the 'Breviary of Alaric,' which of all barbarian codes retains the most of Roman jurisprudence, remained

[1] Some Cluniac monks were introduced into the kingdom of Navarre by Sancho the Great early in the eleventh century.

the basis of such law as existed in Spain before the 'Seven Divisions' of Alfonso X.[1]

As in other respects so in her feudal system, or rather in the absence of any true feudal system, Spain ran upon lines of her own. During the period of the reconquest, the very period in which France was elaborating that system of land-tenure and government, although there were in Spain all the elements which were necessary for the building up of a feudal polity, these elements never combined into any system whatever. There were all the disruptive tendencies, all the rebellious instincts so characteristic of the polity, but there were no reciprocal 'duties of service and defence' between king and grandee, between grandee and small noble, or between small noble and peasant; and outside all stood the self-reliant urban communities. In some respects the Spanish system was better than the French, and it was certainly better adapted to the one immediate need, the reconquest. The king, though his nobles lived by rebelling against him, and had even a formula legally enabling them to make a renunciation of allegiance to him, had far greater prerogatives in war-time than any French king. And it was always war-time in Spain; the Crusade was occasionally arrested, but only because Castile was at the throat of Leon, or Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre at death grips with each other or with Castile. In such a state of perpetual warfare a Spanish nobleman had no time to stay at home and exercise feudal justice, coin money, or screw his tenants of *tailles* and *aides*. 'The king, the counts, the nobles, and all the knights that took pride in arms, stabled their horses in the rooms where they slept with their wives, to the end that when they heard the war-cry they might find their horses and arms at hand.'[2] It was

[1] A collection of Visigothic law called the *Fuero Juzgo* (*Forum Judicum*) was made by St Ferdinand in 1241 after his conquest of Cordova, and this, though it had little currency for the coming half-century, was the foundation of Alfonso's *Siete Partidas*.

[2] *Cronica General de Espana*, Zamora, 1541, p. 275, quoted in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, i., 9., *note*.

the life of the fortress and the camp, not the life of long winter boredom in the isolated manor-house. Feudalism in France, as I endeavoured to show in my earlier volume, began in the need for protection against robbers and pirates, felt by each village, because the central power had grown too weak to do its duty; and so it began on an infinite series of small theatres, and on a small scale. But the Spanish system of military life was hewn large and was formed for offensive not for defensive warfare. And, as every good soldier knew that unity of command was the only thing that paid in field or in fortress, the kings asserted without much difficulty their right to enter any man's fortress, to command any man's services *de quocunque teneret*, to exercise supreme judicature, and to collect such small taxes as the non-fighting population (of which there was little) could pay. Knights and nobles, indeed, paid none, and one result of this was that, when parliamentary government began, in Castile at least, they hardly cared to attend the Cortes. Another result of this perpetual frontier and camp life was that birth counted in these two centuries for comparatively little; the land was full of brave adventurers who could and did earn rich estates in the land reclaimed from the Moor; and, in the absorbing need for a plentiful and hardy population, even legitimacy was a minor consideration; the Church was obliged to tolerate a sort of licensed duality of wives called *barraganeria*. So, while chivalry and knight-errantry were, as Don Quixote well knew, thoroughly Spanish ideals, feudalism was not.

Some of the statements in the last paragraph may appear to run counter to the ordinary view taken in Europe of the Spanish *hidalgo*, whose fierce individualistic pride was his distinguishing characteristic. And it is true that this quality was even more marked in the Spanish than in the French noble. The latter, when asked to perform his feudal or national duty, would usually begin his refusal with some legal excuse; he would quote charters of immunity, would seek delays, would fail to attend the king's court or army, would bar his castle-

gate, and only in the last resort would he take the field openly. The Spaniard who wished to disobey his king hurled his defiance and got to horse at once. The national hero of Spain is the Cid, who lived by alternately defying and being reconciled to his king; it was as the successful rebel, the great leader of his own companions in the field, no matter against whom, that the Cid was honoured, long before Christian tradition had made him what he never was at all, the protagonist of the Crusade.

This brings me to another point still more at variance with the traditionary view of Spanish history, the comparative absence of religious fanaticism during the Crusade. The Cid was oftener than not in the service of some Moslem Emir. The life of the fortress and the camp had become so dear to Spanish knights that, when there was no big Christian war on hand, they were quite ready to earn the pay of the children of Mahound. It was of course a greater pleasure, a nearer duty, to slay the infidel, but it was almost more a racial and a territorial quarrel that we had with him than a religious. Rome at least had no foot in our hearts; Santiago was to a Spaniard a far more powerful god than St Peter. 'The Cid's knights,' says Mr Burke,[1] 'would have hung Torquemada.' Moor and Christian had, in fact, when the Crusade began in earnest, the mutual respect that is common to brave men; their arms and armour were much alike, chivalry and knighthood were no monopoly of the Christian, nor were treachery and savage cruelty any monopoly of the Moor. The two and a half centuries of the Ommiad rule at Cordova, culminating in the long, peaceful, and splendid reign of Abderrahman III. (912-961), were on the whole marked by very fair toleration for the Christians. If the Mozarabic populations, that is the old Spanish peoples within the Moslem domination, came gradually to lose their language and their law,

[1] *A History of Spain from the Earliest Times to the Death of Ferdinand the Catholic* by Ulick R. Burke, 2nd ed., London, 1900, vol. i., p. 197.

they kept their faith, their old Romano-Gothic ritual, and some of their old Roman institutions.

But, as the reconquest progressed, fanaticism not unnaturally began to grow upon both sides; on the Christian side it became at last the absorbing passion, and, if it oftener slumbered on the Moslem side, it was ever ready to burst out at the call of some *Mahdi*, at the preaching of some *marabout* (holy man), or at some fresh influx of fighting Berbers from Africa. Then the Moorish rulers of the southern provinces would awake to the danger of the existence of a large population of Mozarabic Christians in their midst, and this would lead to harsher anti-Christian laws and sometimes to actual persecution. These Mozarabs, in return, would cry to the north for deliverance, and would not long cry in vain. Migrations of the Christians from the south to the north then set in on a large scale. And the difference between the results of the conquest and those of the reconquest was very great. Raids on both sides had never ceased, and the debatable land between the frontiers had long been a desert. But, as the Cross advanced and the Crescent fell back, the Christians, instead of following the tolerant example of Tarik and Musa, simply drove the Moslem population from the great central valleys in headlong flight to the south, or even to Africa. Only in a few big towns could Moslem and Jew remain, and the former at least had to pretend to accept the sacrament of baptism. The further south we got the more our intolerance rose with each step of our victory. And, as on and beyond the Guadiana the Moslem were too numerous to run away, their sufferings at our hands undoubtedly became great. And then for ourselves began the difficulty, which we never successfully overcame, of peopling the desert which our arms had made in the valleys of the Douro and the Tagus. Villeinage or unfreedom in various grades were indeed known, and one supposes that in Spain, as in other Roman provinces, they had gradually grown up out of the colonate in the last days of Roman government; that they had been

stamped with the spirit of oppression by Vandal, Sueve, and Goth, and that customary rents and services of husbandry and herdsmanship had crystallised during the days of Moorish rule. But there could have been little room in the small fighting communities of the far north for any such system, and those peasants at least who moved forward in the Christian reconquest must, one supposes, have been more or less free. Some, we know, might quit their lord freely and emigrate if they forfeited their property; others, in groups called *behetrias*, might migrate without such forfeiture; the difficulty lay not in impediments to migration, but in finding willing immigrants to till the land. And the result was that Central Spain has been always underpeopled. That it is better fitted for pasturage than for agriculture remains a saving clause; wool and leather were the staple products of mediæval Spain, the *summa rusticitas* of the pig[1] was always dear to her, and became dearer because by eating every scrap of him she could prove against Moslem and Jew the purity of her faith. 'Good bacon,' says Richard Ford, 'is wedded to sound doctrine and St Augustine.'[2]

Perhaps the thing most worthy of notice is the rapidity of the nation-making during these two centuries. We know very little for certain of what was going on behind the screen of the northern mountains in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. There is no one early language of Christian Spain. Gallician is probably the earliest dialect, and this became the foundation of Portuguese. The earliest ballads are in it, and are wholly native and warlike; there is no trace of Arab or French influence in them. At the opposite northern corner of the Peninsula lay the one province which was open to foreign influences, the county of Barcelona or Catalonia. Here, as we know, the Franks had got a footing early in the ninth century, and the county only gradually shook off its allegiance to the Frankish Empire during the next two centuries.

[1] Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 68.

[2] *Gleanings from Spain*, by R. Ford (Okey's ed., 1906, p. 141).

Of its immediately subsequent history, however, we are almost wholly ignorant; it was twice retaken by the Moors (852 and 985), but held by them on each occasion for very few years. It probably received from time to time a good many Christian exiles from the south. It undoubtedly maintained continuous intercourse with Languedoc and especially with Provence, whose peculiar dialect was being hammered out between the Latin and the Burgundian speech; and the result was that the Catalan language was and remained as distinct from the later Castilian as did the Portuguese. The Catalan is in fact a rude *patois* of the Provençal; it is still spoken in Catalonia and in the Balearic Isles, and at least one newspaper is published in it. It is the more remarkable that, when by a marriage in 1137 this county of Catalonia was united with Aragon, the classic Provençal of Limoges, at that time the language of all Southern France, obtained so little hold in the kingdom of Aragon. One of the kings of that country, Alfonso II. (1162-1196), was a real troubadour; another, Peter II., died fighting for the Provençal people in the Albigensian wars, and many remnants of Provençal culture took refuge at the court of James 'the Conqueror' of Aragon. But the vengeance of the Church triumphed, and the language of the troubadours had hardly any part in the formation of Spanish.

Between the two extremes of Gallicia and Catalonia lay the infant Christian communities of the Pyrenees and the Biscayan coast-line. If the Franks had extended their grip from Barcelona up the valley of the Ebro, they might well have joined hands with those remnants of the Goths who had fled before Tarik and Musa to the mountains of the Asturias. But the Frankish rulers found enough to do at home, and the plain of the Ebro was occupied, or reoccupied, by the Moors during the ninth century. Early in the tenth we begin to hear of a kingdom of Navarre with a fortress-capital at Pampeluna. Its history is very dark till the long reign of Sancho the Great (970-1035); he holds much of the later Aragon and of the later Castile, and his wars are quite as much

with his Christian brethren as with the Moor. But it is not in Navarre, whose common speech is not a *patois* of Latin at all but the primitive Basque, akin to no civilised tongue whatever,[1] that the language of Cervantes is to be born.

Further still to the west in the rugged mountains of the coast lay the true cradle of modern Spain, and its rulers were nobles and priests with Gothic blood in their veins who had learned their lesson in the hard school of adversity and poverty. An Alfonso I., who died in 756, has already made great progress southwards into Gallicia and Old Castile; he has once watered his horses in the Douro; and he has begun to create, though he cannot colonise (for he has so few men) the desert frontier. His son fixes his capital at Oviedo. In the ninth century a shepherd, who has been attracted by a wondrous light from off the ground, discovers at Compostella in Gallicia, the body of St James the Great, whom Dante saw in Paradise[2] and knew for a true Spaniard. The Apostle on his white horse becomes the first of Spanish knights, and the spiritual cousin of St George of England. The next advance is from Oviedo to Leon early in the tenth century, and it is the kingdom of Leon which, far into the eleventh, is the protagonist in the Crusade; it stretches from the Upper Ebro to the Minho, and its southern objective is always the Douro. The early counts of Castile, so named because its frontier begins to bristle with *castella* or fortresses, are extremely rebellious dependents on the kings of Leon. Here, then, in Leon we have the home of that dialect of Latin which suddenly bursts full-blown upon the world in the middle of the twelfth century in the 'Poem of the Cid.' Though the poem itself was probably written much further East, it is written in very fair Castilian, and this Castilian is finally hammered into a classical language by Alfonso X., the contemporary of our own Edward I.

This is the language of the reconquest, and it was in the process of the reconquest that Castilian absorbed so

[1] Unless you call Finnish a civilised tongue.

[2] *Paradiso*, xxv., 17.

many Arabic words. South of the frontier-desert Arabic had undoubtedly mastered the late-Latin dialects, and, where it had not completely mastered them, a mixed Arabico-Latin *patois* had arisen, written in the Arabic character,[1] and dying hard, even in the mouths of good Mozarabic Christians, during and after the reconquest. That Arabic influences other than those of speech affected Castilian life is clearly proved by the position of women in Spain; the Cid's wife Ximena never approaches her lord with a request but on her knees, and a partial seclusion of women has died hard even in modern Spain.

The actual progress of the reconquest and the formation of the several Christian kingdoms lie mainly between the dates of 1037, that of the accession of Ferdinand I. to the first united kingdom of Castile and Leon, and 1212, that of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in the Sierra Morena, which drove the Moslem back to the Guadalquivir. Aragon had its own evolution and its own period of reconquest, both beginning and ending somewhat later, and this can best be treated separately. Geographically speaking, the reconquest of the Peninsula is an enveloping process, of which the advance of Portugal down the Atlantic coast, and of Aragon down the Mediterranean, are the wings, and the driving of Castile and Leon at the successive lines of the Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadiana forms the central movement.

Even after the death of Abderrahman III. in 961 there had been one great and victorious advance of Islam, led by the Vizir Almanzor who died in 1002. Almanzor had taken Barcelona with his right hand, and with his left had sacked Leon, and burned the Apostle's Church at Compostella. But within thirty years of his death (1031), the line of the Ommiad Caliphs ended, and Moslem Spain was split up into a number of small Emirates of which the principal seats of government were at Toledo, Seville, Cordova, Saragossa, and Valencia. These were soon at lusty war with each other, and were

[1] In the ninth century the Bible had been translated into Arabic for the benefit of the Mozarabs.

quite ready to make treaties with Christians against each other, to hire Christian lances to fight their battles, and to pay tribute to Christian kings who, for their part, were only less frequently willing to treat with Moorish Emirs and knights on a similar footing. Political conditions in the north differed, in fact, more in degree than in kind from those in the south. But the internal divisions of the Christians, though far too frequent, were a less constant factor than those of the Moors, and their unions, though seldom permanent, usually endured longer. Islam moreover, was always handicapped by the lack of any true aristocracy; if the Christian kings were, as I have said, frequently served by brave adventurers, the Caliphs and Emirs had little but adventurers upon whom to rely. Such men were too often renegade Christians of several nationalities, and were not unready to turn their coats again. The Christians, for their part, were hampered by the absence of any idea of primogenitary succession to the thrones of the north; each king usually divided his territories between his sons, and sometimes gave his daughters also a share; space would fail me were I to enumerate the unions and the breaches of unions between Leon and Castile.

The names of the kings, and their orders in their several lines of succession to their several kingdoms, would leave a reader, who attempted to remember them, gasping. They were usually called Alfonso, or Ferdinand, or Sancho, and, with a few exceptions, all may be safely forgotten. But certain dates and names are indispensable. Fortunately for us we can dismiss Navarre at once; Sancho the Great was the actual leader in the crusade against the last Ommiads, and, when he died in 1035, the Ommiads had been gone for four years. Sancho gave Navarre to one son, Aragon to another, and the county of Castile (which he had lately stolen) to a third, Ferdinand I., who swallowed Leon two years later (1037). Sancho's line in Navarre became extinct in 1234, a Frenchman was elected king, and henceforth Navarre belongs to French rather than to Spanish history.

With Portugal also we need concern ourselves little. Portugal is really a southern extension of the very old Christian province of Gallicia. Ferdinand I. of Castile and Leon was the real beginner of the reconquest of the Atlantic provinces; he carried the Christian arms from the Minho over the Douro, and almost to the Mondego; many cities which were household words to our great-grandfathers in the Peninsular War, such as Lamego, Coimbra, Almeida, Viseu, were among his conquests. His son, Alfonso VI., penetrated right up to the Tagus, and in 1095 entrusted the government of his conquests in this region to an adventurer called Henry from Besançon in Burgundy. This Henry married a bastard daughter of this Alfonso; and, after an interval of Moorish reconquest early in the twelfth century, their son won a great victory over the Moslem at Ourique to the south of the Tagus, proclaimed himself Alfonso I. of Portugal, and in 1143 refused to pay any tribute to Castile. Four years later some English knights on their way to the Second (St Bernard's) Crusade helped the new king, whose crown had already been blessed by Pope Innocent II.,[1] to conquer Lisbon for good, and the province of the Alemtejo was rapidly passing into Portuguese hands when the twelfth century closed. For this, Portugal had to contend a good deal with Castile after Castile had taken Andalusia; but, roughly speaking, the Guadiana became the final boundary in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

Far eastward on the Mediterranean shore a parallel process was going on. In Barcelona early in the tenth century ruled, as an almost independent[2] sovereign of Catalonia, Count Raymond-Berengar I. He seems to have held whatever of the later Aragon was not in the clutches of Sancho of Navarre, and he died in the same year (1035) as

[1] Two of Bernard's few letters on the concerns of the Spanish peninsula (Letters 463 and 470) show that Alfonso had vowed to found a Cistercian monastery in his new kingdom after his victory at Ourique, and was asking for monks from Clairvaux to fill it.

[2] Theoretically his county, once a part of the Frank Empire, was a fief of the crown of France.

this Sancho. Six counts of his line and name[1] bring us nearly to the middle of the twelfth century; their ambitions have two main directions, to push down the coast towards Tarragona and Tortosa, and to reach the Ebro in the direction of Saragossa. The Emir of Saragossa was one of the stoutest of his kind, and it was his service that the Cid entered, ostensibly against the Count of Catalonia, really with the hope of carving out a principality for himself. The poem[2] has a very amusing story of the Cid's frank treatment of the Raymond-Berengar of the day, whom he once took captive. He offered to release the count and two of his companions, 'but, of all you have lost and I have gained in the field, I will not restore you one bad penny (*dinero malo*); I need cash for myself and my knights who live with me in poverty; we have to satisfy ourselves by robbing you and your kind. We shall lead this life so long as it pleases the Almighty, as a man must do whom his king's anger has banished.' Robin Hood himself couldn't have put it better. The Cid tried to bribe his own King (Alfonso VI. of Castile) by sending him a part of his booty; he kept a fifth for himself, and distributed the rest to his knights. It was one of these Raymond-Berengars who grabbed the county of Provence at the partition of 1125 (see above, p. 276), and it was the fourth of them (1131-1162) who made the marriage with the heiress of Aragon, and their son was Alfonso II. of Aragon, the Troubadour (1162-1196).

Aragon meanwhile had had an obscure history until the beginning of the twelfth century. Its cradle lies on the Pyrenees at Jaca, some sixty miles north of Saragossa. Sancho the Great had owned it, and had bequeathed it as a kingdom to a son Ramiro, who began to push towards the Ebro; Saragossa, commanding the rich plain of that river, almost the only real plain in the Peninsula, was his objective. The third king from him, Alfonso I., called

[1] These counts add confusion to the story because two of them invert the order of their names, and call themselves Berengar-Raymond; the sixth is Raymond-Berengar IV.

[2] *Poëme du Cid*, edn. Hinard, Paris, 1858, line 1049 and following.

the Battler, from having fought on twenty-nine stricken fields, reigned for thirty years at the opening of the twelfth century and died in 1134. He was a better soldier than consolidator, and better as a raider than either. Once he raided far into Andalusia, and once far into Aquitaine. He married Urraca, the widowed heiress of Alfonso VI. of Castile-Leon, and thus looked as if he might have anticipated by more than three centuries the final union of Christian Spain; he also conquered his cousin of Navarre. His one permanent conquest, however, was that of Saragossa, henceforth to be the real centre of the Aragonese dominion. But he was again defeated by the Moslem in his last year, and, dying childless, bequeathed his kingdom to the Knights-Templar. Navarre, Castile, and Leon fell away at once, the Aragonese nobles would have nothing to say to the Templars, and were brave enough to take a monk of the royal line out of cloister, and marry him to an Aquitanian lady. It was Petronilla, the daughter of this union, who married the fourth Raymond-Berengar, and finally welded together Catalonia and Aragon.

The descendants of this happy pair were the real creators of the kingdom of Aragon as a Mediterranean power, although the rather futile Battler (who had enlisted crusading knights on their journeys to, or return from, the Holy Land, had enlisted also the help of fleets from Genoa, Pisa, and perhaps Venice) should not be wholly forgotten. Peter II., grandson of Petronilla, went to Rome in 1203, and agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief of the Holy See; this was very ill received in Aragon, the stipulated tribute was never paid to the Pope, and Peter atoned for his mistake both by his unselfish alliance with Castile in her great final victory over the Andalusian Moslem at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), and in the next year by dying in battle (at Muret) against the papal militia, who were drowning in blood and fire the civilisation of Provence and Languedoc. Peter's successor was James 'the Conqueror,' whose long reign (1213-1270), lying wholly outside our period, need only be mentioned for the purpose

of rounding off the story of the growth of Aragon. James began in 1229 with the Balearic Isles, hitherto the refuge of every Moslem corsair from Jaffa to Gibraltar, and finished them off in six years; in 1238 he completed his mainland kingdom by the capture of Valencia. First of the Spanish provinces Aragon developed a maritime power, and alone of Spanish kingdoms it maintained a persistent, though often a veiled, hostility to the policy of the popes.

Thus the wings of Christendom had advanced in the Peninsula, and their ultimate triumph over the Moslem was assured, before the centre had won the line of the Guadalquivir. By the centre I mean, of course, the progress of the often joined, often separated, kingdoms of Leon and Castile.[1]

We must begin again, then, with Ferdinand I., whom we have already seen employed in conquests in Portugal. You will remember that his reign over Leon and Castile as one kingdom begins only six years after the extinction of the Ommiads. There is no longer a Caliph in Spain; for the headship of their faith the Spanish Moslem now have to look either to the Abbassids of Bagdad, or the Fatimites at Cairo; preferably, as becomes a people of African origin, to the latter, whom Crusaders in the East will call *Rex Babyloniorum.* If any one Emir in Spain has succeeded to the prestige of the Ommiads, it is the Emir of Toledo; and Toledo is the former capital of Gothic-Christian Spain. When Ferdinand's reign began the stupendous rock-fortress of Zamora on the Douro had been the key of the frontier, and the debatable land in front of it was a desert over fifty miles broad. Ferdinand led his knights without difficulty from the Douro to the summit of the Guadarrama range, and terrorised the Emir of Toledo so much that the Emir promised him

[1] They were united under Ferdinand I.; divided at his death in 1065; reunited, though seething with civil war, under Alfonso VI., under his daughter Urraca, and under her son (by her first husband), Alfonso VII., called the emperor—a period of three reigns—1072-1157; and not really joined again till their final reunion under St Ferdinand in 1230.

help if he would attack a rival Emir at Seville on the Guadalquivir. This the Castilians proceeded to do, but then allowed themselves to be bought off from Andalusia in 1063 with a present of the relics of Bishop Isidor, which had been preserved at Seville. In his last years Ferdinand pushed still further east, and almost reached the Mediterranean at Valencia. Then he died, and most foolishly divided his kingdoms between his children, who at once flew at each other's throats. His friendship with its Emir had at least procured for one of his children a refuge at Toledo. This son in 1073 emerged victorious from the civil strife as Alfonso VI. of Leon and Castile,[1] and reigned till 1109. He is known in Spanish tradition as the Cid's king, but his reign was important for other things beside the Cid, and first and foremost for the splendid ingratitude which led him to capture his old entertainer's great city of Toledo. Toledo commands the valley of the Upper Tagus, and watches the mountain passes both to south and north. The city capitulated to the Christians after a long siege, and Alfonso granted good terms.

I think that it was this success of the King of Castile-Leon which first seriously turned the eyes of the popes to the Spanish Peninsula. It is true that the vigilant Hildebrand, when still only archdeacon, had called the attention of Pope Alexander II. to the fact that the Aragonese Christians were in the habit of using a ritual and breviary different from the Roman; Hildebrand was a specialist in such matters, and was at the very same time denouncing the 'Ambrosian use' at Milan. The change was forced through in Aragon, then a small weak kingdom without much self-consciousness, in 1071. As Gregory VII., Hildebrand began his own reign by flouting Castilian prejudice with the statement that the 'kingdom of Spain, though long occupied by the pagans,' belonged to St Peter alone.[2] He forgot St James altogether, and St James did not forget the affront. A year later, having further fortified himself with the additional authority of St

[1] He was elected in some sort of Cortes at Burgos.

[2] *Monumenta Gregoriana*, Jaffé, p. 16 (30th April 1073).

Paul (traditionally the founder of the Spanish Church), Gregory demanded that Castile should accept the Roman use, and he kept harping on this string throughout his pontificate. He also scolded Alfonso for irreverent treatment of papal legates.[1] Now Alfonso evidently had the reputation of being a *rex politicus*, somewhat too fond of foreigners to please the Castilians (for instance, he constantly enlisted French and other foreign knights for his crusade, he even employed Jewish and Moorish mercenaries), and so it is not surprising that he temporised with Gregory. All manner of stories are told as to ordeals to which the two prayer-books, the Roman and the National, were subjected; the National was steadily victorious in these ordeals, but the wise king decided, in the teeth of his own people, for the Roman use. Its final acceptance was, however, deferred till after the capture of Toledo, which the Christians entered on the day of Gregory VII.'s death in May 1085. It was a somewhat humorous corollary that, together with the Roman prayer-book, there came to Spain the False Decretals, of which, though these were attributed at Rome to the national Spanish Saint Isidor, Spaniards themselves had as yet never heard.

It was reserved for the next great Pope, Urban II., to apply to Europe upon a large scale the principle of the Crusade which had long been going on in Spain. Thus I think we may fairly say that it was Christian Spain in her hero-time who initiated, for good or evil, the greatest movement of Europe in the Middle Ages; henceforth the Spanish Crusade was incorporated, as the right wing of that movement, in the general advance of Christendom against Islam. And Urban's successor, Paschal II., actually forbade Spanish knights to take part in Eastern Crusades.

For the moment Islam had an answer ready, in the shape of a counter-crusade from Africa. The Berber colonies in Andalusia were always in close touch with their brothers across the Straits, and, in one of the fanatic

[1] *Monumenta Gregoriana*, Jaffé, pp. 83, 234, 429.

revivals so common to Mohammedan communities, the race of the Almoravids had in 1070 overrun Morocco and founded a city there; they had pressed on to Ceuta fourteen years later, and, in the year after Alfonso's capture of Toledo, they were called in to Spain, to be champions of the faith, by a temporary combination of the Andalusian Emirs. Very possibly these Emirs realised the danger of such allies, but their danger from the Castilians seemed to be the greater; and their proverb ran 'better be a camel-driver in Africa than a swineherd in Castile.' The valiant Alfonso flew to meet Yussuf (Joseph) the Almoravid in 1086, but suffered a terrible defeat at Zallaca, near Badajoz. For the moment the Berber, having accomplished his mission, returned to Africa and gave the Castilians an invaluable breathing space; but in 1090 he returned, conquered all the Southern Emirates, and made himself master of almost all Moslem Spain. Yet Toledo happily defied all his attacks, and Alfonso, confining his centre to the defensive, prudently turned Yussuf's left by penetrating Southern Portugal to the mouth of the Tagus.

This was the age of the exploits of Ruy (Roderick) Diaz de Bivar, commonly known as 'The Cid,' to whom I have already frequently referred. The names *Cid* (Said, lord) and *Campeador* (challenger, man who fights single combats) appear in the twelfth-century poem. Roderick was a Castilian noble, was probably born about 1040, rose in the service of Ferdinand I., was hostile to Alfonso VI. before his accession, and spent the rest of his life in a series of quarrels and reconciliations with him. He was, if we reduce him to his lowest terms, nothing but the leader of a large mercenary *condotta*, but he was evidently a very bonny fighter. Like other good knights of romance he had a famous horse, called Babieca ('the booby'), whose dialogue with Rozinante is known to all readers of Don Quixote. His two daughters made royal marriages, and the Houses of France and Castile were in later days proud to be descended from him. On his first quarrel with Alfonso he entered the service of the Emir of Saragossa. Though at

one time he had thoughts of carving out a principality in Andalusia, on the whole he fixed his eyes on the city and province of Valencia, a very garden of wealth, as the more feasible and desirable acquisition, and he got it in 1094 and held it for five years till his own death in 1099. He showed great cunning in trimming between his own king and the Emir of Saragossa, persuading each that, in his long siege of Valencia, he was not serving his own interest but that of his temporary employer. After Zalacca he had reconciled himself with the King of Castile, but had not given him any substantial help against the Almoravids; he had then returned to his Eastern task, and had kept his hand in by an occasional raid on Castile itself. We have seen how he treated Raymond-Berengar of Catalonia, but in his last years he was quite ready to be reconciled to him also, and got Catalonian (or perhaps Aragonese) help in fighting the Almoravids on the east coast when these threatened his city of Valencia. It seems probable that, if he had lived a few years longer, he would inevitably have been crushed either by the Almoravids, or by Castile, and in his last year he suffered a bad defeat from the former at Xativa. Three years after his death Valencia fell again to the Moslem (1102), and remained in Moslem hands till 1238.[1]

Meanwhile the Almoravids continued for some sixty years to rule Southern Spain from their capital at Morocco. They inflicted another defeat on Alfonso at Ucles in 1108, and the great crusader-king died in the next year. Then again there was civil war over the inheritance of Leon and Castile, a regular mixed dog-fight, with Navarre and Aragon joining in. Not till 1126 did Alfonso VII., grandson of Alfonso VI., emerge as once more in possession of his grandfather's kingdoms, which he held till his own death

[1] The Cid's very existence has been called in question, but even the sceptical canon admitted to Don Quixote 'that there was a Cid and a Bernard of Carpio is also doubtless; that they have done the acts recounted of them, I believe there is very great cause to doubt.' *Don Quixote*, Shelton's transl., reprint, London, 1895, vol. ii., p. 312, chap. xlix.

in 1157. It was this Alfonso who took, for no very obvious reason, the title of 'Emperor'; it was he whose daughter Constance married the good Louis VII. of France, and whom Louis himself visited at Toledo when he came to adore Santiago at Compostella (1154-1155). But as regards the Crusade the 'Emperor,' though he fought much, effected little, with the exception of one great raid to the gates of Seville. The reign is, however, marked by the rise of a new Mohammedan power in Africa, that of the Almohads, just a fresh wave of fanatic Berbers following on the already spent force of the Almoravid wave. These new men took Fez in 1146 and Morocco in the next year; they immediately crossed the Straits and began to conquer Andalusia for themselves. Within two years they had pretty well reduced the Emirs of the south to be tributary, and these actually called in the Castilian kings, Alfonso VII. and his grandson Alfonso VIII. (1158-1214) against them. Moslem division was indeed more serviceable than Christian valour to the cause of the Cross in the middle of the twelfth century.

In the reign of Alfonso VIII. a fresh trouble was added to the Christians; the 'Emperor' had, as was usual, divided his kingdoms at his death, and Leon not only refused to reunite with Castile, but actually spent a priceless half-century in flickering alliances with the infidel against his own brother Castile. Alfonso VIII., an active and valiant sovereign (who also married in 1170 the English princess Eleanor), owed much of his success to the institution, in imitation of the Templars and Hospitallers, of the three native Spanish Orders of Knighthood, those of Calatrava (1160), Santiago (1175), and Alcantara (1178). These orders led the van of the Christians against the Almohads. All three started as frontier camps or colonies guarding some recently captured post, and so were more or less natural growths; the dates given above are those of the charters successively conferred upon them by Pope Alexander III. They differed for the better from the always insubordinate Templars by being placed at first directly under the Crown; only the

king could call them to the field, and apparently he could (or at least he did) call them to fight his battles against Christian and Moor alike.

Into the wearisome intrigues and civil wars between Castile and Leon, which filled the reign of Alfonso VIII. it is not worth while to enter. The solid fact to grasp is the marriage in 1197 between the first cousins, Berengaria, daughter of Castile, and Alfonso King of Leon, usually called Alfonso IX.[1] Berengaria was a heroine and by her mother's side a Plantagenet, and, though Innocent III., who was hurling interdicts for much lesser offences all over Europe, could hardly be expected to ratify a marriage so unholy in the eyes of the Church, she managed in after years, during a long and prudent administration, to uphold the legitimacy of her eldest son and his ultimate claim to both crowns under the name of Ferdinand III., afterwards Saint Ferdinand. A last rush of the Almohads in 1195 brought a last serious defeat to the Christians at Alarcos on the river Jucar, and a last Moorish siege of Toledo; the brunt of the fighting was borne by the three new Castilian Orders of Chivalry. Sixteen years later a fresh African invasion was expected, and actually came. Old King Alfonso VIII. was wise enough to call upon the Pope to proclaim a general crusade against it. The Pope forgot the wickedness of the marriage and responded nobly; he hurled an interdict at Leon which was holding back from the Christian cause, and he poured Lombard, German, and French knights, as well as Templars and Johnians, into Spain. Aragon (Peter II.) and Navarre joined forces with Castile, and the result was the great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The Castilian chroniclers are particular to state that *all* the foreigners, with the exception of a few Provençals under the Archbishop of Narbonne, had gone home again before

[1] The genealogies are complicated by the fact that, when Leon and Castile were finally united in 1230, the order of the Alfonsos was reckoned from the line of the older kingdom, Leon. I have, however, antedated this order for the convenience of my readers, who need not remember that 'Alfonso VIII.' was really only the third of his name who had ruled in Castile.

the battle. But, whoever fought the fight, it was the beginning of the end of Moslem dominion in Spain; the line of the Guadalquivir was henceforth the outpost of Islam. This was forced by St Ferdinand, before the middle of the thirteenth century, by the capture of Cordova and Seville, and then Granada alone remained Moorish—for two hundred and fifty years.

It is customary to spill many tears over the extinction of the luxurious civilisation of the Moslem in Spain, and certainly no words can be hard enough for the bigotry which, at the close of the fifteenth century committed to the flames the many thousands of volumes which attested the learning of the Moors, nor for the subsequent treatment of the 'Morescos' by the Christian kings of Spain. But we must beware of supposing that, at the date of the conquests of St Ferdinand, Moslem learning was still active. Since the extinction of the Ommiads there had been little original work done in Cordova;[1] there had been no more poetry and no more splendid buildings. Crusade and counter-crusade had absorbed all the energy of both races and of their sovereigns. The Almoravids and the Almohads were African barbarians, who did not, indeed, close the schools of Cordova, Seville, or Granada, but were just as indifferent to them as the Castilian and Aragonese sovereigns were to those which they found existing at Toledo and Saragossa. In these schools, it is true, and especially at Cordova, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy continued to be diligently studied throughout the twelfth century. But it was Christians from Northern Europe and Italy, not Moslem students, who came and studied them. Averroes, the great Arabic commentator on Aristotle, died in 1198, and was the last of the Mohammedan Schoolmen. When he died Moslem learning died with him, but Christian scholars were ready to bear, nay had for a century past

[1] Even before that date, and certainly after it, the philosophers of Islam had occasionally been exposed to religious persecution, at the hands of strictly orthodox Moslem, not greatly differing from that which St Bernard meted out to Abélard.

been bearing, its fruits into Western Europe. In Spain itself it is quite possible that some of these fruits found their way to Salamanca, where we hear, before the end of the twelfth century, of a school existing which was one day to be the parent of the only great Spanish seat of learning.

Several times in this chapter I have had occasion to mention the 'Cortes' or Parliament of one or other of the Spanish kingdoms, and it is a somewhat startling fact that Canute had not been five years upon the throne of Wessex before the date of an actually surviving example of the 'Acts' of a Parliament in Leon (1020). Very much used to be made of this and of subsequent examples of early 'freedom' in the Peninsula, and analogies and even connections with England were eagerly sought by Whiggish champions of the divine right of Parliamentary government. We, who know that form of government only in its hideous decay, are perhaps more sceptical as to its early history. In Aragon in the reign of the 'Battler' we find four 'Estates' of the little kingdom, prelates, great barons, gentlemen, and deputies from the few towns. In Catalonia, and, when it was finally recovered from the Moor, in Valencia, there were only three Estates, clergy, nobles, and towns. In Castile we have no record of the representation of towns before the Cortes of Burgos in 1169, but it does not follow that it did not exist earlier; on the other hand, the lesser nobles, if they had ever attended at all, very early ceased to attend. In any case, these various Spanish systems of parliaments do anticipate, by a great many years, the meetings at Westminster and at Paris. But if we reflect on what was happening in the Peninsula in these eleventh and twelfth centuries, we shall be less surprised at such precocity, either in aristocratic Aragon, or in monarchical Castile. These people were making themselves into nations, and, in spite of constant rebellions of great individuals among them, they were wonderfully united for the purpose. The King of Castile, if he were to make the Crusade effective, had to get the help or advice of every rich, intelligent or brave man or community

in his kingdom, and so he very frequently called to himself everyone who could be of service. Nothing was more irregular than his method of calling them, now one 'Estate,' now two, now three; now in provinces, now in kingdoms; without periodicity, without acknowledged obligation. But, once called, such bodies would naturally exercise much control over his actions; indeed one is on the whole surprised at their patriotism and liberality. Though there was no true feudalism in Castile, there was enough of the feudal spirit, enough perhaps also of tradition from the great councils of Gothic days to make it impossible for a king to legislate, to tax, or even to be recognised as king, without some sort of public consultation with the most powerful elements in his kingdom. After all, there was the same system, if you can call it a system, in the France and the Germany of the early Capets and Salians, in the England of the Normans and early Plantagenets. That the urban communities were 'represented' in Castilian and Aragonese, earlier than in English, French, or German, central assemblies was merely due to the fact that each was a fighting body of serious importance in the prosecution of a great national war.

It was not till the long Crusade was practically over, in the later thirteenth century, that the Castilian Cortes began to display the *allure* of the parliaments of our Edward II. and Richard II. In Aragon undoubtedly the claim to be summoned regularly, even annually, is much earlier; but there too the 'Great Privilege,' which first put the Parliamentary Constitution in writing, dates only to 1283, and its corollary, the licensed rebellion if the king should violate this constitution, comes four years later.

One takes leave, then, of mediæval Christian Spain not without being duly shocked at its bigotry, its cruelty, its ignorance, and its turbulence; but also not without admiration for its high courage, its patient endurance, its marvellous recoveries after defeats, and for the singleness of aim with which its best elements sought for five hundred years to wash out the memory of the day of Xeres in the blood of the infidel.

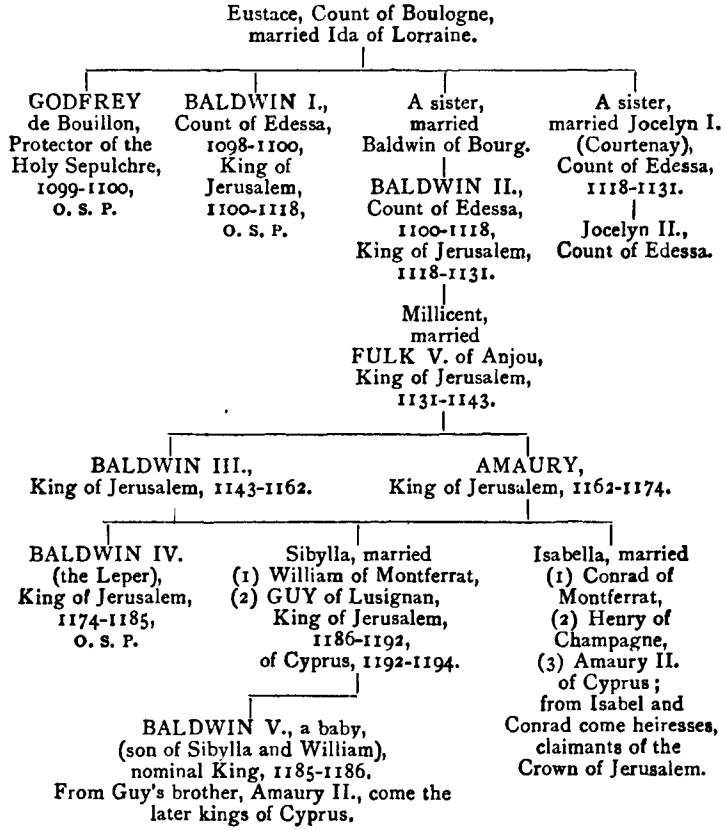

CARINTHIA
STYRIA
CARNIOLA
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
CARIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
CILICIA
SOUTHERN ITALY.
THE CRUSADES.
Scale of Miles

ARGUMENT OF CHAPTER VIII

We have first to consider (i.) the condition of the Eastern Empire, both as needing help against the Moslem, and as likely to facilitate or to hinder the passage of that help, if it is sent; (ii.) the changed condition of the Moslem world in the nearer East, both because of the split between the old Abbassid Caliphate at Bagdad and the newer Fatimite Caliphate at Cairo, and because of the arrival of the very barbarous Seljukian Turks on the scene. So we really start from the battle of Manzikert (1071), which led to the conquests of these Turks in Asia Minor and Syria. They ruined the remnants of old Roman civilisation, and the greatest difficulty for Western knights lay in the roads to be traversed. Then we must consider the condition of the West, which made help to the Eastern Christians not only possible, but apparently the highest of duties; the position of the great popes of the last quarter of the eleventh century; the rising spirit of the religious French knights; the well-known example of the crusade going on in Spain; the knowledge and the ambition of the Italian-Normans, directed against the Eastern Empire; similar knowledge and trade of the Italian cities, especially of Venice and Genoa; the growth of the pilgrimage-habit, fostered by reviving piety. We then turn to the gathering and equipment of the hosts of the First Crusade; the incredible hardships of its passage by the long land-route; the jealousy and trickery of the Emperor Alexius; the great superiority of the knights of the West in the open field over the Turks; the divided condition of the Moslem Emirates; the setting up of four Latin colonies in Syria; the history of them, especially of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In this connection we have to notice the difficulties in maintaining these colonies, the greatest of which was want of men; then that the conquest was never completed. The great military orders were the best bulwarks of the colonies; but they were insubordinate, and did not get on well with the kings or the settled barons of the kingdom. There was always danger lest these last should become too slack, too much orientalised. The loss of the colony

of Edessa in 1144 leads to the Second Crusade; and this is a dismal failure. The gradual union of the Emirates in the hand of one powerful Moslem ruler straitens the Latin colonies; the Italian sailors, who get an enormous trade with the cities of the Syrian coast, do not care about the fate of the interior. The absorption of the Fatimite Caliphate and of Egypt by Saladin, practically seals the fate of Jerusalem, and the battle of Hattin finishes it (1187). Europe is horrified and hurls the Third Crusade on the East; this also fails, and its failure means that the dream is over. The subsequent fate of the coast cities is sketched in a few lines till the fall of Acre in 1291. The effects of the Crusades on Europe may be considered almost wholly good.

TABLE.—THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM AND PRINCIPALITY OF EDESSA.


Eustace, Count of Boulogne, married Ida of Lorraine.
GODFREY de Bouillon, Protector of the Holy Sepulchre, 1099-1100, O. S. P.
BALDWIN I., Count of Edessa, 1098-1100, King of Jerusalem, 1100-1118, O. S. P.
A sister, married Baldwin of Bourg.
BALDWIN II., Count of Edessa, 1100-1118, King of Jerusalem, 1118-1131.
Millicent, married FULK V. of Anjou, King of Jerusalem, 1131-1143.
A sister, married Jocelyn I. (Courtenay), Count of Edessa, 1118-1131.
Jocelyn II., Count of Edessa.
BALDWIN III., King of Jerusalem, 1143-1162.
AMAURY, King of Jerusalem, 1162-1174.
BALDWIN IV. (the Leper), King of Jerusalem, 1174-1185, O. S. P.
Sibylla, married (1) William of Montferrat, (2) GUY of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, 1186-1192, of Cyprus, 1192-1194.
Isabella, married (1) Conrad of Montferrat, (2) Henry of Champagne, (3) Amaury II. of Cyprus; from Isabel and Conrad come heiresses, claimants of the Crown of Jerusalem.
BALDWIN V., a baby, (son of Sibylla and William), nominal King, 1185-1186.
From Guy's brother, Amaury II., come the later kings of Cyprus.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CRUSADES

IT is not my intention to treat the history of the Eastern Empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries upon the same scale as that of the nations that were arising in the West. The Eastern Empire was not so much a 'Child of the Roman Empire' as the shadow of that empire itself; and my business is only with the Children that were becoming nations. The rulers of Constantinople did not succeed in making a nation.

At one time or another, however, they approached success. They did weld, especially in the tenth and the first half of the eleventh century, the surprising mixture of races in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula into something that to contemporary eyes bore the semblance of a 'Greek' nation. They possessed for that purpose, and used, a governmental machinery far superior to any that existed in the West. They had armies, fleets, law-courts, and exchequer, which performed in an efficient manner all the functions which we now associate with military, naval, judicial, and financial work. Their coinage, the gold byzant or besant, never seriously depreciated, was the standard of value, and the most readily received medium of exchange, over all Europe and over much of Western Asia. Such trade with the East as Western nations enjoyed passed mainly through their cities.[1] They were the bulwark of Christendom against Islam, and remained an efficient bulwark till the third quarter

[1] Not wholly; Venice had already tapped the Arabian trade at Alexandria.

of the eleventh century; and it is quite an arguable proposition that, but for the attack of the Normans on their western flank, they might have rolled back the Turks altogether and so dispensed with the need for Crusades.[1] But in spite of all these things every century that passed, every victory won, and every defeat suffered, made the rulers of this empire and their subjects less European, less 'Roman,' and more naturally antagonistic to the true Children of the Roman Empire.

If we knew more of the internal condition of the provinces of this Eastern Empire, we might be able to find some explanation of these facts. But we have little means of judging of the European, still less of the Asiatic provinces. In the latter it seems that the free peasantry were being steadily swallowed up in the *latifundia*[2] of the great 'Greek' families, and what the *latifundia* spared the tax-gatherer devoured. Vast fortunes were acquired by palace officials, and by no means all of these were confiscated by the emperors. In the Balkan Peninsula, excluding Greece, such Greeks as were left were concentrated in the cities and especially in the coast cities, while in the open country, Wallachs, Bulgars, Serbs, and every breed and cross-breed of Slav buzzed and hummed continually, forming communities without unity, settlements without cohesion, peoples without patriotism. All intensive cultivation, almost all arable cultivation, disappeared, and the ploughman and vine-dresser gave place to the rude herdsman and his ruder dog. The Isaurian and Macedonian emperors made valiant efforts to stub up this waste of tribes, or to reduce them to some sort of law and order; such and such a tribe was often compelled to move on, or to clear out altogether; but it was always replaced by another as uncivilised, as turbulent, as fragmentary and as filthy as its predecessor, and quite ready, in spite of

[1] So, Gibbon, vi., 249, ed. Bury, London, 1898:—'The fear of Robert induced him [Alexius] to seek the friendship of Soliman.'

[2] 'Latifundia perdidere Italiam, jam vero et provincias' (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, Bk. xviii., cap. 6).

nominal Christianity, to co-operate with Moslem or anyone else against the imperial government. Wholesale plantation of colonies of Asiatics was occasionally tried, and did little but add to the disintegration of the peninsula. As regards Hellas itself and the Peloponnese, a controversy has long raged on the questions of the survival of real Hellenic blood and of the admixture of Slav blood to be found there; but it seems clear that, from the ninth century onwards, Greeks did to some extent prevail over Slavs, that at least the Greek tongue, not more corrupted than one would expect from the long lapse of time, got the better of the Slavonic dialects.

I shall not ask my readers to remember many of the names of the sovereigns of Constantinople before the accession of Alexius Comnenus in 1081, and even on him and his successors I shall touch only so far as the Crusaders were concerned with them. During the two centuries of the Macedonian Dynasty (867-1057) the Empire appeared to be at the height of its external prosperity, and there was a very considerable reconquest of the lands to the east of the Taurus, including Antioch. The long reign of Basil II. (976-1025) saw the annihilation of the new kingdom, which the Bulgarians had established in the Balkan Peninsula with a capital at Ochrida on the Egnatian road; but it was more easy for Basil to restore the Danube frontier and to be hailed as the 'Bulgar-slayer' than to repeople or administer the districts which his wars had devastated. He was equally active on his eastern and on his western flanks; we have already seen [1] his *Catapans* reasserting Byzantine influence in Southern Italy with a very fair measure of success, and founding thereby the hostility between his own empire and the incoming Normans. In Syria it is a fact that he was able for a few years to maintain a garrison even in Aleppo.[2] He seems to have been the first to take into his service the mercenaries known as

[1] See above, p. 36.

[2] Retaken by the Moslem before Basil's death (1021).

Varangers, and so to found the famous Varanger guard; these men were originally drawn from Russia, but after the middle of the eleventh century they were principally Danes and Englishmen armed with the Danish battle-axe; they are last mentioned about the middle of the thirteenth century.[1]

Basil's successors had less importance and less good luck. They had practically lost Italy when Brindisi fell to the Normans in 1055, and they lost it for good with the fall of Bari in 1071; but they constantly hankered for the reassertion of their influence there. They suffered the first serious attack of a new foe, the Seljukian Turks, on the eastern frontier of Armenia, in 1048, and they did little to hinder the final separation of the Greek from the Latin Church. This separation, long inevitable, and already a recognised fact, was precipitated by the bigotry of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who closed in 1053 all churches in the East wherein the Latin rite was still in use. It is eminently characteristic of the theologians on both sides, that the point at issue in that year was whether leavened or unleavened bread was the proper thing to use in the Sacrament.[2] The Macedonian Dynasty came to an end in 1057, and it became almost at once manifest that the administration of the Empire was no longer able to stand any great strain, certainly not a combination of severe strains. But in the next twenty years the three frontiers were attacked almost simultaneously, and we then perceive that neither roads, bridges, army, nor fortifications were any longer maintained in an

[1] For the etymology of the word *Varanger*, see Vol. I., p. 381.

[2] Pope Leo IX. was at the moment a captive in the Norman Camp. He had sent legates on the business to the Eastern capital, but they do not seem to have sought peace there, and they certainly found none. Later popes were often anxious for reunion, but it was always to be on their own terms. There is an interesting letter of Gregory VII. to the Armenian Church (a Church which strove to keep its independence from Constantinople, and clung to some of the Latin rites as a means to this end) written in 1080, in which he says: 'We understand that you use unleavened bread, and that you are therefore called heretics by the Greeks; do not be astonished at their rash garrulity, but do not desist from your practice' (Jaffé, *Monumenta Gregoriana*, p. 425).

efficient condition; the treasury was as full as ever, but its proceeds were all squandered in the vulgar pomp of the capital, or in civil wars between pretenders to the throne. Belgrade was captured by the Hungarians in 1064; the Seljuks burst for good the Armenian frontier, at which they had long been gnawing, at the same date. Their coming spelt, as no invasion since Attila's had spelt, mere ruin, for these Turks were nomads, and preferred a desert to civilisation; so this was the end of the thousand years of prosperity which the Roman Empire had given to Asia Minor. Within a very few years the third frontier, the Epirot, was attacked by the Normans. Such were the circumstances in which were launched the first appeals for help from the Eastern capital to the Western nations.

'The Crusades,' says Bishop Stubbs,[1] 'are not, in my mind, either the popular delusions that our cheap literature has determined them to be, nor papal conspiracies against kings and peoples, as they appear to the Protestant controversialist; nor the savage outbreaks of expiring barbarism thirsting for blood and plunder, nor volcanic explosions of religious intolerance. I believe them to have been, in their deep sources, and in the minds of their best champions, and in the main tendency of their results, capable of ample justification. They were the first great effort of mediæval life to go beyond the pursuit of selfish and isolated ambitions; they were the trial-feat of the young world, essaying to use, to the glory of God and the benefit of man, the arms of its new knighthood.' A little further on Stubbs confesses that their history has for him an interest that quite rivals that which he takes in the history of the Greeks and Romans, and very much the same sort of interest.[2]

[1] *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History*, Oxford, 1886, p. 157.

[2] The Bishop's Introduction to the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, in the Rolls Series, is a remarkable testimony to this interest, and is perhaps the best brief sketch of the Crusades in the English language. For the sake of this interest of his, Stubbs is almost willing to swallow his cordial dislike, elsewhere expressed, of Richard I. And yet there are people who find Stubbs dry!

Quite independently of the critical condition of the Eastern Empire, the spirit to which Bishop Stubbs refers was already alive in Western Europe, and symptoms of it could be seen in almost every land. In Spain, if not three centuries old, it was at least three quarters of a century old, and, as we have seen, French, Burgundian, and Provençal knights were well accustomed to aid in the Spanish crusade; it became even more a matter of necessity in that peninsula when the Almoravids from Africa appeared to give fresh vigour to Western Islam, just while the equally barbarous Turks were re-invigorating Eastern Islam. Some Crusaders indeed may have calculated upon making an 'Eastern diversion,' which would in some way assist the Spanish Crusaders; such persons little knew the total lack of unity in the Mohammedan world. In spite of the advent of these two keen barbarian stimulants, Islam was already going backwards, and its schools of theology and learning were ceasing to work just when Christendom was waking up to new life. Again, the Mediterranean sailors were already well accustomed to something very like a maritime crusade of their own. Amalfi had her factories at Antioch and Jerusalem as well as at Constantinople; Venice knew much of the condition of Egypt under the weak Fatimite caliphs; Pisans and Genoese knew their African littoral, knew their Balearic pirates, and were just then busy driving them out of Sardinia and Corsica; Pisa, as yet the friend of the new Norman power, was aiding it against the Saracens in Sicily. The plundering expeditions of these sailors were half religious in aim, and were already sapping the strength of Islam. Indeed it is a tenable view that such expeditions, if continued in sporadic fashion, might have proved more successful than the regular crusades, which, by rousing the spirit of the Moslem world, did in the end create a very powerful, though never a united, resistance among Mohammedans. But the self-conscious vigour of the newly converted Scandinavian races, above all of the Norman race, demanded a more open expression of its

mission; if Constantinople was the 'Micklegard' of the Sagas, Jerusalem was the 'Asgard,' the home of their (new) God, their goal of life. And what Normandy thought to-day some Frenchmen had been thinking yesterday, and more Frenchmen still would be thinking to-morrow. The 'Song of Roland,' so closely akin to the Sagas in spirit, must have been sung in many a country castle in France before the date of its earliest surviving written form (1080). What is the best occupation for a devout French[1] king, for a valiant French knight? To slay Paynim in heaps, and to win thereby both immortal honour on earth and Paradise hereafter.

No doubt, also, there was a considerable increase of population in Western Europe, now that the pirates were beaten back, and some sort of security for life and property was beginning to be known. Above all there was in these rejuvenated peoples the passion for pilgrimages. Ralph Glaber speaks of their great increase now that the conversion of the Hungarians had opened a land route to the East, and especially of their popularity at the date of the millennium of Christ's Passion (1033).[2] In 1010 the burning of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem by the mad Caliph Hakim of Cairo shocked all Christians deeply; but pilgrimages became only the more numerous, and began to be organised into large bands of armed men. The immortal story told by Lambert of Hersfeld of the great pilgrimage of 1064-1065, on which were the Archbishop of Mainz and three other great German prelates, is too long to give in full, but a few extracts from it may illustrate for us the condition of affairs in Palestine. Lambert,[3] who had been thither himself, ought to have known his geography and his ethnography better than he did, for he confuses Ramleh, which is close to Jerusalem, with Capernaum on the Lake of Galilee. On their way

[1] When we say 'French' we must of course remember that the 'sweet France' of Roland is not that of the eleventh century, but the wider Frank-land of Charlemagne.

[2] Glaber, iii., 1, 2; iv.; vi., 18.

[3] *Annals, ut supra*, p. 93 *sqq.*

south one body of the pilgrims suffered an incursion from the Arabs (probably Bedouins) and were stripped to the soles of their boots; some of them, by throwing stones, managed to reach the town (conjectured to be Capernaum) and organised the defence of a house. The Arabs sat down to starve them out. On Easter morning (which of course they had hoped to spend at Jerusalem) they were obliged to surrender. The Sheikh who commanded the tribe executed a *fantasia* on his horse, dashed up to the house, and climbed by a ladder into the garret where the bishops were in hiding. Bamberg offered him all their money in return for their lives, but he refused this, saying that his people had been badly knocked about in the fight, so he meant to eat their flesh and drink their blood as well as to take their money. So he took off his own turban and began to bind Bamberg's hands with it. That prelate, 'a man of liberal modesty and mature gravity,' hit the Sheikh in the face and knocked him down for laying profane hands on a Christian priest. Clerks and laymen rushed to help the bishop; they bound the Sheikh and several of his companions who had climbed up the ladder. Those in the lower story did the same to the other Arabs who had entered the house; and, when a rescue was attempted, our people put the bound Sheikh and his friends in front of themselves, and swore they would cut their heads off if the enemy did not disperse; and the bound Sheikh entreated his own followers to go away. While this was happening at 'Capernaum' some of the other pilgrims had got to Ramleh (say a hundred miles away!), and the 'Duke' of Ramleh, though a pagan, was animated by divine instinct; he hurried to the scene of the conflict, the Arabs fled, and the duke thanked the Christians for their magnificent service to his state. 'These fellows,' he said, 'were pests of society who had long infested the Babylonian kingdom,' and he ordered the few bound prisoners to be sent alive to the Seljuk Sultan, Alp Arslan.[1] Then, 'having accepted as much

[1] Not to the caliph at Cairo, which is odd, for the Seljukians were not as far south as Jerusalem till 1077.

money as was proper' from the Christians, he took them with him to Ramleh and gave them a guard to Jerusalem.

Lambert no doubt got his story from eye-witnesses; and, though barely a third of the original pilgrims of 1064 returned to Europe, their adventures must have shown at once how dangerous a pilgrimage might be, and how necessary a conquest of the Holy Places was for Christendom. The Fatimite caliphs had taken Jerusalem about the year 970, and ruled all Syria (with the exception of Antioch) from Cairo for the first half of the eleventh century. Then began to appear from the 'back of beyond' the new power of the Seljukian Turks. These were not really a race, but at first just an armed horde of brigands from many Central Asian tribes, light cavalrymen armed with short-bow and curved scimitar, incomparable horse-archers like their ancient kinsmen the Huns, trained to avoid charges but always to circle round an opposing host, and to harass it for days together. Right through our period the Turks preferred Parthian tactics to pitched battles, whether against the knights of the West or the heavy cavalry of Byzantium. Ultimately they formed something like a nation, and the Anatolian peasants of to-day are largely of Seljuk descent. Their first really known leader, Togrul Beg,[1] made himself a sort of mayor of the palace, and practical master of the effete Abbassid Caliph, at Bagdad, and, in his newly acquired orthodoxy, he treated Arab civilisation there much as Robert Guiscard treated Rome in 1084; he blew the flickering flame of Islam to white heat against the mild but heretical Fatimite Caliph in Egypt. At his death in 1063, his dominion stretched from the Aral Sea to the Euphrates, and his successors, Alp Arslan (1063-1073) and Malek Shah (1073-1092) were the most powerful sovereigns of the East. The Greeks, who had been steadily getting the better in their contests with Bagdad and with Cairo, found themselves suddenly confronted with a very different foe. The Seljuks, whether acting in the name of Bagdad or for their own hands,

[1] His title 'Sultan' is believed originally to have meant 'captain of bodyguard'; see Bury's Gibbon, vi., 225 *note*.

were strong enough to face Constantinople and Cairo at once. The battle of Manzikert, near Lake Van in Armenia in 1071,[1] was a turning point in history. Not only was the Emperor Romanus IV. taken captive, and his army practically destroyed, but the defeat was followed by the establishment of a permanent Sultanate of Turks in Asia Minor. The pretenders and emperors who followed Romanus at Constantinople were quite ready to buy Turkish help in order to get the crown, and the result was that the Turks were already at Nicæa, within seventy miles of the Bosphorus when, out of a welter of rebellion and treachery, the rich noble, Alexius Comnenus, with the aid of foreign mercenaries seized the capital, which he was obliged to sack and plunder before he could be crowned emperor in 1081.

Before this happened one of these shadow emperors, Michael VII., had written for help in 1074 to the newly elected Pope, Gregory VII. The reason for the address of the letter seems to have been not so much any knowledge of the great qualities of the Pope, but the fact that there was at the moment no very upstanding lay power in the West. Gregory seized the opportunity, and his circular letters of 1st March and 16th December 1074, 'to all Christians wishing to defend the faith,'[2] have often been considered to be the first trumpet-call to the Crusades. There is, indeed, an earlier reference to the subject; on 2nd February the Pope writes to the Count of Burgundy[3] a letter, in which he summons him and Raymond of Toulouse and Amadeus of Savoy, to come to the help of St Peter. This help is not to be against the Normans, 'to deal with whom we have knights enough,' but 'when the Normans have been pacified, we mean to go' (in person) 'to Constantinople to help the Christians.' His appeal was evidently not unheard, for on 7th December he writes to Henry IV.[4] that 'more than

[1] Admirably described by Professor Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, London, 1898, p. 217 *sqq.*

[2] Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*, pp. 69 and 150.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

fifty thousand Christians are preparing themselves, if they can have me for leader and pope, to rise against the enemies of God with armed hands, and go even as far as the Lord's Sepulchre.' He goes on to hope for the reunion of the Greek and Armenian churches to the Roman by these means. In the face of these words, *usque ad sepulchrum Domini*, I fail to understand Count Riant's criticism[1] that there is here no germ of the Crusades proper, no call to liberate the Holy Places. Gregory, no doubt, above all other popes, was fond of talking of the 'cause of St Peter,' and perhaps, in common with his successors, he too much identified the cause of Christ with that of the apostle, thought too much of Rome's revenge on the East for the deeds of Justinian and Leo III.; certainly no pope ever wished to help the Greeks except at the price of a submissive reunion. But as a matter of fact, Gregory's maledictions against the heretics of the East are, if we consider his high proficiency in the art of malediction, conspicuous by their comparative rarity; at a synod in November 1078 he excommunicates, among some other offenders, the Eastern Emperor Nicephorus, but that is about all. He probably thought it a waste of good curses to hurl them at Alexius, even when Alexius was helping Henry IV. to get into Rome. Whatever his crusading intentions may have been, his quarrels nearer home absorbed the rest of his life, and he had no opportunity of putting those 'fifty thousand Christians' in motion.

The next appeal for help was that of Alexius Comnenus in a letter to Count Robert of Flanders (who had himself been a pilgrim) in 1088;[2] and before that came, the Seljuks had taken Jerusalem (1077), together with Damascus and all Syria and Palestine up to the

[1] *Inventaire Critique des Lettres historiques des Croisades*, in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i., 60 *sqq.*, Paris, 1881.

[2] This letter is given in Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta dei per Francos*, Migne, vol. clvi., 693, and in Hagenmeyer's *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren, 1088-1100*, Innsbruck, 1901, p. 129 *sqq.* It was regarded as spurious by Riant. Hagenmeyer defends its genuineness, and is upheld by Bury (Gibbon, vi., 251).

frontier of the Egyptian desert; and then some very serious ill-treatment of Christians, whether native or pilgrim, had begun. From the Greeks the Seljuks had taken Antioch in 1085, and, either from Greeks or Armenians, Edessa[1] in 1086. Now Alexius was brave, active, clever, ambitious, and patient in ill-fortune. It says much for his dynasty that, by force and fraud alike, it recovered some of the lost ground and staved off the ruin of the Empire for another century. Robert Guiscard fully extended Alexius's powers at the very beginning of the reign (1081-1085); but, by the help of Venice and of rebel Normans, the danger to Epirus was averted for the time. Directly Guiscard was gone, the emperor had to meet an irruption of some other Turkish hordes, called Petschenegs, into his Balkan provinces, and this took him till about 1091. When Malek Shah died in 1092 the Greeks began to recover a few frontier places in Asia Minor, but Nicæa, and most of the country behind it remained in the hands of Kilidje Arslan, Malek's successor; and it was for help against him that Alexius sent his final appeal to Pope Urban II. in 1095. His embassy found the Pope about to hold a synod at Piacenza early in that year.

Now Urban in 1095 was in a totally different position from Gregory twenty years before. He was master of Christendom. Philip of France and Henry of Germany were as whipped dogs before him. And he was the fine flower of his age, with all its intelligence and all its passions; he was a Frenchman and of noble blood. He had heard all the pilgrims' tales of oppression. He knew much about the civil wars of the Moslem. He had already been in acrimonious correspondence with Alexius about unleavened bread, and he had certainly no intention of helping the enemy of his own best friends, the Normans. So he sent to Sicily and asked the advice of Count Roger. Roger, busy knocking down the last of the Saracen castles there, told the Pope not to lose the chance of reuniting Christendom, and therefore to prolong the

[1] Edessa was in the hands of an Armenian prince again ten years later.

negotiation with the Greeks, which would at least keep open a door for interference. Alexius would, no doubt, have been well satisfied with a good contingent of knights, sent as auxiliaries to his own army, to operate against Nicæa; and this apparently was all that was proposed at the Synod of Piacenza in the Lent of 1095. Many of the enormous crowd present at that synod seized on the chance, and promised to go and fight Turks anywhere and in any service. Then came Urban's triumphal progress through Southern France, during which he talked to many French nobles, and especially to Bishop Adhemar of Puy (who had been East himself), and to Count Raymond of Toulouse. And it is more than probable that a totally new scheme was all ready and arranged when the Pope met the great Council of Clermont in Auvergne in that November. At that council, Urban crowned himself indeed Lord and Master of Western Christendom.

The council put the King of France under the ban of the Church, and proclaimed a universal *Treuga Dei.* Then in his great speech of 26th November, the Pope called upon all his hearers and all Christendom to go East; not, however, to help Alexius in Asia Minor, but to help Christ in Jerusalem. All ecclesiastics were to preach the Crusade; all who took the cross and fulfilled their vow were to obtain remission of sins; all their property was, during their absence, to be under the special protection of the Pope. The Bishop of Puy was to act as Urban's legate, and to command the Crusaders in his name. It was 'God's will,' and no one of Urban's hearers doubted the fact.

It is much to be regretted that none of the historians of the First Crusade have been edited in the excellent German series of *Scriptores in Usum Scholarum*, nor in the French *Collection des Textes.* There are special editions of most of them, and there is the vast *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, in enormous folios, begun in 1841 and not yet finished. Most, but not all, of the Latin authorities are in Migne's *Patrologia;* the *Urquelle* of all, the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*,

is not there.[1] The unknown author was a knight who went in the company of Bohemond and the Normans by the Egnatian road across the Balkan peninsula, accompanied this body to Antioch, went on to Jerusalem with Raymond of Toulouse, and finished his book at Jerusalem. There it seems to have been consulted by nearly every other historian of the Crusade, and to have been stolen wholesale by most of them. The other two most interesting eye-witnesses are Raymond of Agiles, and Fulcher of Chartres. Raymond was a canon of Puy; he went in the train of his bishop, the legate Adhemar, after whose death he attached himself to Count Raymond of Toulouse; his *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Hierusalem*[2] is generally admitted to be accurate in detail, and is extraordinarily vivid. Fulcher's *Gesta Francorum Jherusalem peregrinantium*[3] is even more vivid and interesting, but it leaves the main army at Marash just east of the Taurus, for the author went off to be chaplain to Count Baldwin at Edessa, and only came to Jerusalem when Baldwin of Edessa came with Bohemond in November; from that date he then takes the story of the kingdom down to 1127; he is perhaps the most lively and curious of the historians.[4] Then there are three historians of high value who were not eye-witnesses, Albert, Canon of Aix; Guibert, Abbot of Nogent; and William, Archbishop of Tyre. The first of these, formerly discredited as a mere saga-man (especially by Sybel in 1841), has found a champion in Professor Bernard Kugler of Tübingen,[5] who shows

[1] It is in the third volume of the Latin section of the *Recueil*, and there is an edition of it by Hagenmeyer, published at Heidelberg in 1890, from which my quotations are taken.

[2] In Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. clv.; in a French translation by Guizot in his collection, vol. xxi., Paris, 1824.

[3] In Migne, vol. clv.; in Guizot, vol. xxiv. There is also a new (1913) edition of Fulcher by Hagenmeyer, but I have not seen it.

[4] It is he who tells us of the 'wild honey,' *i.e.*, sugar-cane, of Palestine and of the use of dates for food; he also learned, as the present writer once learned by experience, that it is not easy either to sink or to swim in the Dead Sea.

[5] See his *Albert von Aachen*, Stuttgart, 1885; the text of Albert's *Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis super passagio Godefridi de*

that, besides a lot of travellers' tales, Albert used a very sound, but now lost, Lorraine Chronicle written by an eye-witness of the events. Guibert was Abbot of Nogent, near Coucy in Picardy, and wrote, largely from information obtained from Count Robert of Flanders, his *Historia Hierosolymitana quæ dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, taking the story down to 1110;[1] he is a man of better education than those already mentioned. The best classical history of the whole of the Crusades till 1184, that of William of Tyre, was compiled between 1169 and 1185; the writer was born in the East in 1127, was tutor to King Baldwin IV., Chancellor of the kingdom 1174, and Archbishop of Tyre from 1175 till his death in 1190. He is by far the most learned man who touches the subject, but naturally he is no contemporary authority for the First, and hardly for the Second Crusade, though he seems to have used with discretion all the contemporary authorities.[2] There were many others, mostly plagiarists and tale-tellers; among the most widely read and quoted was Robert of Saint-Rémy, the monk of Rheims, who wrote after 1118, a *Historia Hierosolymitana usque ad annum MXCIX.*[3] Most of the choice bits from all writers, and a very valuable set of extracts from the Arabic, Greek, and Armenian historians of the period, the whole translated into French, are collected in Michaud's *Bibliothèque des Croisades.*[4] Professor Kugler's admirable and beautifully illustrated *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*[5] has been my own guide for the main part of the story;

Bullione et aliorum principum is in Migne, vol. clxvi., and its translation is in Guizot, vols. xx. and xxi.; it takes the story from 1095 till 1121.

[1] In Migne, vol. clvi.; in Guizot, vol. ix.

[2] His *Belli sacri historia xxiii libris comprehensa, seu Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis gestarum* goes from 1095 till 1184, and is in Migne, vol. cci., and in Guizot, vols. xvi.-xviii. It was continued in French from 1184, but not till half a century had elapsed, by a certain Ernoul, who had been in his boyhood a witness of the events of the next few years.

[3] Migne, vol. clv.; Guizot, vol. xxiii. [4] 4 vols., Paris, 1829.

[5] In Oncken's *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, Berlin, 1891.

the latest thing in English is the learned essay of Professor W. B. Stevenson.[1]

The fable that the monk Peter of Amiens, commonly called 'Peter the Hermit,' being on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem shortly before 1095, had a vision of the Saviour in the Church of the Sepulchre, bidding him go and stimulate the Pope to preach a Crusade, is first found in Albert of Aix.[2] The Princess Anna Comnena[3] suggests that Peter had not succeeded in reaching Jerusalem at all. But Peter certainly preached the Crusade energetically in Central and Northern France, beginning from the neighbourhood of Clermont, in the winter of 1095-1096, and collected round himself a large mass of unarmed, unfed pilgrims in a state of great excitement; and this crowd joined another crowd collected by two knights each called Walter, and advanced into Germany by Cologne at Easter 1096. Here, in spite of much scepticism,[4] it gathered to itself a great many people whom the long civil war had rendered reckless or homeless. These poor people marched in two great straggling lines through Hungary and the Balkans; the Bulgars killed a great many of the first crowd and starvation probably did the rest, for few of them reached the Bosphorus. The second crowd, with Peter himself to lead it, was more fortunate and got to Constantinople in July 1096. These early masses of

[1] *The Crusaders in the East*, Cambridge, 1907. I had some correspondence in 1912 with Mr Stevenson on the subject of the numbers of the crusading armies, and I am glad to find that he is inclined to believe that all historians have hitherto failed to make sufficient allowance for mediæval exaggerations in the matter of figures.

[2] Bk. i., caps. 1-6.

[3] *Alexiadis Libri xv.* (in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ*, Bonn, 1839), vol. ii., bk. x., cap. 5, p. 29.

[4] 'It was a trumpet,' says Ekkehard of Aura (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cliv, pp. 96, 99) 'which had little echo in Germany; many people thought it an *inaudita stultitia*, but the result of the wanderers' departure was peace and felicity to Germany.' Ekkehard himself, however, went East in 1101, stayed a few weeks at Jerusalem, and wrote a *Hierosolymita seu Libellus de expugnatione Hierosolymitana* sometime after 1114; it is in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. cliv.

ignorant fanatics were guilty of many murders of the hapless Jews in the cities through which they passed; it is remarkable to find Ralph Glaber, as it were, predicting this very many years before.[1] Peter's men began plundering around the Eastern capital and Alexius, here confronted for the first time with something quite different from what he had asked for, was only too glad to ship them across the Strait. Most of them were cut to pieces by the garrison of Nicæa, and the real Crusaders found little of them in the next year but heaps of bones and skulls. Peter himself survived and accompanied the great expedition eastwards in 1097.

The main Crusaders' army was a very different thing. Its most distinguished and richest leader was Count Raymond of Toulouse and Provence; he had the largest following, and he was constantly adding to it by buying the services of knights whose masters' purses had given out. He was a businesslike man of fifty-five, thoroughly papal in heart, but obstinate, ambitious, and fearfully greedy. He gained much consideration from the fact that the Legate-Commander-in-Chief accompanied his contingent. Raymond of Agiles[2] says that the Burgundians, Auvergnats, Gascons, and 'Goths' (*i.e.*, people of the Narbonne-Montpellier district) were all called 'Provençals,' the rest were lumped together as 'French.'[3] But why these clever Provençals, coast-dwellers too for the most part, should have chosen the worst route of all is not clear; they went round the head of the Adriatic and down the Dalmatian and Epirot coast to Durazzo, where they struck the Egnatian Way. Each host in fact went its own way; and

[1] Glaber, iii., vii., 24, says it was Jews who stirred up the Caliph Hakim to persecute Christians in 1010, by telling him that if he did not do so the Christians would come and destroy his kingdom; 'and that is why Jews are persecuted in Europe.'

[2] Cap. vii.

[3] Raoul of Caen (*Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, iii., 651) has some sound French contempt for the Provençaux, who were so greedy that they were most useful in times of famine, 'as the children's rhymes say, *Franci ad bella, Provinciales ad victualia;*' they would grub for food anywhere.

it was a grave fault of Urban or of Adhemar not to have made better plans; but Adhemar had merely given orders for a general *rendezvous* at Constantinople.

The choice of any land route, when there were already fleets in Pisa, Genoa, and Venice sufficient to transport the entire army, seems to us now ridiculous, and I have never seen any reasonable explanation of it.[1] But one and all rejected the sea-route. For Northern France there was no one satisfactory leader. The stout King Philip was trying to live down a very serious excommunication, and judiciously removing the landmarks of his more immediate neighbours. The insolent daring of William Rufus of England was quite free from any religious enthusiasm, and he preferred to be his elder brother Robert's pawnbroker for the remainder of the Duchy of Normandy (for the sum of £6666, 13s. 4d.). That brother Robert, lazy, valiant, pious after his strange lights, and adventurous, was ready to go, and joined his Norman kinsmen in Southern Italy. Count Robert of Flanders (henceforth called 'Robert of Jerusalem') was a good ruler, a good knight, and a good man; he would perhaps have been the best leader for the whole army. Hugh of Vermandois (brother of King Philip) and Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, were of second class quality, as they were to prove in the East. But, as there was yet little real separation between France and the lower Rhine countries, the lead of all who took the straight road ultimately fell to the Lotharingian brothers, Godfrey and Baldwin, by their father's side of the family of the counts of Boulogne (hence 'Godfrey of Bullion'), by their mother of the Lower Lorraine House—Carolings by both descents. Godfrey had been a loyal servant of poor Henry IV., had fought against papalist rebels for him, and had been invested with the Duchy of Lower Lorraine in

[1] Perhaps the mere cost of a sea-passage affords some explanation. It would have to be paid at once, and in hard cash, and Italian shipowners were likely to be exorbitant. Yet the *ultimate* cost in food, time, wear and tear, death, disease, and loss, incurred by the land route, would far exceed any possible sums chargeable for a passage by sea.

1089; he had some alodial lands in Walloon Flanders and he had the marquisate of Antwerp, so we may suppose him to have been fairly well off; but before they started Baldwin was reckoned the bigger man of the two. From the start, however, Godfrey's great qualities marked him out as the destined leader; it was he who negotiated for the passage through Hungary, and to him the first letters of the Emperor Alexius were addressed when the frontier of the Eastern Empire was crossed.

Finally Southern Italy, *i.e.*, Norman Italy, sent Bohemond, the eldest and almost disinherited son of Robert Guiscard. His enormous stature and his great physical beauty are described at length by Anna Comnena;[1] he had wit and eloquence, and 'his laugh was more terrible than another man's wrath.' He was the ablest and least scrupulous of all the Crusaders. But he was very poor, and he had to wait till an army of adventurers was gathered for a raid on Amalfi; these men he persuaded to join his own force and go on crusade instead. To Southern Italy came also Robert of Flanders, Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Blois, and, with the last two, the historian Fulcher, who saw Pope Urban at Lucca, but was horrified to find the antipope in possession of Rome itself. Bohemond knew more about the Greeks than any of the others, for he had fought for his father against them and got more than one beating.[2] He knew the Via Egnatia well and how to land at Durazzo. With him went that *preux chevalier* of romance and Tasso, Bohemond's own sister's son, Tancred.[3]

[1] *Alexiad*, xiii., 10, *Corpus*, vol. ii. p. 225.

[2] 'Alexius was horribly afraid of him,' *Gesta*, vi., 3, Hagenmeyer, p. 171.

[3] The author of the *Gesta* (iv., 2) calls Tancred's father 'Marchisus,' and Hagenmeyer (p. 153 *note*) discusses the possible meanings of the word as a name or a title; it has been reserved for the critical *acumen* of Mr Baskerville to identify this person with the 'Peter Marchisus of noble memory' mentioned as the husband of Emma in a charter of protection granted by Urban II. at Bari in October 1098 to the church of San Salvatore at San Martino, given in Minieri Riccio's *Saggio di Cod. Diplom.* (Naples, 1882), *Supplemento*, p. 3.

Thus, like the locusts, the Crusaders 'had no king, but went forth all of them by bands';[1] each army set out for the Bosphorus by its own route and at its own time; Raymond as we have seen above; Godfrey, and most of the French and Lorrainers by the old Roman road, through Hungary and the Balkans to Philippopolis, Adrianople, and Constantinople; Bohemond, the two Roberts and Stephen,[2] by the Via Egnatia to Thessalonica and the same goal. It suited alike the piety of the victorious West and the self-respect of the defeated East, to state the numbers at anything in the neighbourhood of a million; but if we allow them *at the start* fifty thousand fighting men, we shall probably still be guilty of great exaggeration. Alexius, of course, was simply horrified, and would have been horrified at a fifth part of this figure; he knew his Normans of old, and if these men once got hold even of Nicæa, it would be all over with his power at least, if not with any Greek power, at Constantinople. What his true policy should have been, other than loyal support, of which he was quite incapable, to the purely religious aims of the Crusaders, it is hard to say. On the whole, I think he acted neither unwisely nor quite unfairly. It is from Princess Anna, who was fourteen when the main armies reached her father's capital, that we learn[3] how they behaved there, but unfortunately she is not a very trustworthy authority. She was horrified at crossbows and at other weapons unknown to Greeks. She says that some of the Crusaders roasted and ate sucking babes—which is unlikely to be true. But it does not seem to have been very wrong of her father to 'trap' the Crusaders into an oath that whatever lands they conquered in Syria

A brother of Tancred's, William, killed at Dorylæum is also mentioned in the *Gesta*, ix., x. (Hagenmeyer, p. 205).

[1] Guibert, i., 1., quoting *Proverbs*, xxx., 27.

[2] Hugh had started the first to Durazzo, had been taken prisoner and sent to Constantinople. Robert of Flanders went in the winter. Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois started last (in the spring of 1097), and were the last to arrive on the scene of action, after the siege of Nicæa had begun.

[3] In Book x. of the *Alexiad*.

or Palestine or elsewhere, should be held feudally of the Eastern Empire; the first to arrive and to be so trapped was Hugh of Vermandois; Godfrey was very angry when he learned of this at Philippopolis. He allowed his men to plunder Thrace in revenge; and, when they reached the capital, they extended their ravages all round it. In January 1197 Godfrey himself consented to swear, and, having sworn, resolved to abide by his oath, in spite of a suggestion of Bohemond's that they should join at once in open war on Alexius. In April Bohemond arrived and agreed to swear; he had long had his eye on Antioch, and had perhaps during his march been in intrigue with Alexius to get it. Of all the leaders, Raymond alone at that time refused to take any oath, and he was well rewarded, for Alexius, perceiving the jealousies at work in the Western armies, suddenly turned round and made a close personal friendship with him. Raymond remained the friend, and the only friend, of the Greeks till his death.

The earliest arrivals had already begun to cross the straits in January, and they went on crossing until May. There had been civil war among the Turks since Malek Shah's death, and Emirs had done after their kind (as in Spain) and set up for themselves; but Kilidje Arslan was the most powerful of these, and held a sort of Sultanate at Nicæa; he was far away East when news of the arrival of the Crusaders reached him, but he hurried up for the relief of Nicæa, a very strong place on a lake, of which our army began the siege late in April. The Greek troops were with us and gave us some, but, we complained, not enough assistance. Raymond was the first to break lances with the wicked Paynim, and on 17th May he gave Kilidje a good beating.[1] On 20th June after fifty-two days' siege Alexius by bribery and treachery got his Greek troops into Nicæa, and was obliged to give the Crusaders

[1] We got our provisions by sea, so there was no starvation during the siege (*Gesta*, vii., 3, Hagenmeyer, p. 178); also, we dragged boats overland for several miles from the sea, filled them with soldiers and launched them on the lake.

a large indemnity in money for the booty which they would have got had they sacked the city. After this all the leaders, including Raymond, swore fealty to Alexius, and he promised to follow them to Syria with a large Greek army; he also gave them guides and plentiful instructions. They started East at the end of June.

If we try to form for ourselves a picture of a crusading army on the march or in battle, we shall see that it does not essentially differ from that with which William I. conquered our own island. Cavalry was the one force on which reliance was placed, and the lesson, painfully learned during the first century of campaigns in the Levant, was that heavy cavalry without infantry were no match for the clouds of light cavalry of the Moslem, for the simple reason that they could so seldom get within striking-distance. Some sort of infantry, then, was improvised during the Crusades, and of these the most effective seem to have been the crossbowmen, of whom both Greeks and Saracens were terribly afraid. Of pikemen we hear very little, though they were well known in the West at the beginning of the twelfth century. The infantry were clothed very much as the cavalry with long mail shirt and hauberk and conical steel cap; thick leather doublets took the place of mail for poorer troops; our enemies wore doublets made of many thicknesses of quilted[1] cotton. Another force that was very early improvised was the *Turcopoli*, that is to say, a light cavalry of horse-archers, copied from the Turks. The Greeks had these before the Crusades, and we hear of a body of them with Count Raymond in 1097; they were largely increased during the twelfth century, and the two great military Orders of the Temple and the Hospital kept squadrons of them in regular service. But it was the heavy cavalry after all, when they could get into action, that wrought the greatest damage and inspired the greatest fear among the Moslem. The knight's armour at its best was impenetrable by Turkish arrows; Bohaeddin,

[1] The Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, calls my attention to the θώρακας λινοῦς of the Chalybes, worn by them μέχρι τοῦ ἤτρου. (Xenophon, Anabasis, iv., 7.)

Saladin's biographer, saw Frank soldiers with twenty arrows sticking in them, riding on quite unconcerned, 'whereas their crossbow bolts killed man and horse of us.'[1] The knight carried mace and short sword, but his main weapon was the thrusting lance. Anyone who has ridden those countries, even in light flannel clothes and white burnous, and under a merely April sun, can fancy what endurance it must have needed to ride and fight for long July days in chain armour over a leather coat.

They took the right road and the straight road to the Taurus as far as Heraclea, that is to say, the Dorylæum–Little Antioch–Iconium road. It leads over a high dry plateau, where even in good Roman times artificial storage of water had been necessary. We may suppose that this road had been maintained in fair repair until the irruptions of the Turks; but these irruptions, during the two previous decades, had been enough to ruin it altogether; probably the Greek guides themselves knew nothing of its condition, perhaps had never traversed it. The fierce sun of Asia was at its height; the heavy Flemish and Norman horses, with their heavy riders in ring-mail, found little forage and can have been in little condition for the first battle. This happened within four days from the start from Nicæa (1st July); Kilidje with a vast host had been hovering on their flanks, and finally took the Crusaders, who were wholly ignorant of scouting or any other principle of strategy, quite by surprise near Dorylæum. Our force was divided into two columns of march, some six miles apart and unconnected by flankers. Each line was encumbered with a large body of camp followers, either peaceful pilgrims, or foot soldiers who were reckoned as good for nothing but a camp guard —say six footmen to one knight. Bohemond, who led the left-hand column, faced his Turks manfully, but was quite unable to charge; his foot and camp were surprised by the circling enemy and half destroyed, and, after many hours of suffering, in which an enormous number of his

[1] Michaud, *Bibliothèque*, iv., 325. The author of Richard I.'s *Itinerarium*, says the enemy called us 'a Nation of Iron.'

horses fell under the Turkish arrows, his knights were being finally driven back into utter ruin, when Godfrey and Raymond appeared from the right-hand column followed at the gallop by all its cavalry-strength. These took the Turks in flank, and swept them into headlong flight in a few minutes. It was this accidental, indeed undeserved, victory which founded the reputation of the knights of the West, the 'Franks' as all Easterns called them, among their enemies. Indeed from this day each side began to respect the other as the 'best fighters in the world except themselves.'[1] Henceforth, till Iconium was reached, our chief enemies were thirst and hunger; Kilidje fell back ravaging the route we had to pass. It would have made you laugh and weep, says Fulcher,[2] to see our knights after this battle riding full-armed on bullocks with their baggage piled on sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs. Yet we found time, as gentlemen should, for sport; for we had our falcons and our coursing dogs with us, and Godfrey himself was very badly hurt by a bear, and had for long to be carried in a litter.

The best side of the crusading spirit was seen in the terrible days of endurance that followed the battle. The very worst time was probably that between Dorylæum and Little Antioch.[3] Things got much better before they came to Iconium. There was a fight with Turks between that city and Heraclea. When at last they reached Heraclea they found Armenian Christians (better guides than the Greeks), who had managed to hold out in the mountainous country between Cilicia and the Euphrates.[4]

[1] 'They (the Turks) say no people ought naturally to be warriors except the Franks and themselves; and it is quite true that, if only they would be good Christians' (here the author recites the articles of faith the Turks *ought* to hold to enable them to fight bravely), 'you couldn't find braver or stronger or more skilful fighters' (*Gesta*, ix., 11, Hagenmeyer, p. 207).

[2] i., 5.

[3] See Hagenmeyer's note 25 on *Gesta*, x., 3 (p. 211) concerning that 'inaquosa et inhabitabilis terra ex qua vix evasimus vel exivimus.'

[4] Here, and perhaps elsewhere, the presence of recently conquered

These, for some reason which has never been satisfactorily explained, persuaded the main body to make a northward detour, *via* Cæsarea, through Eastern Cappadocia to Marash; Tancred and Baldwin, however, passed straight through the Cilician gates to Tarsus (where they quarrelled). Baldwin rejoined his brother at Marash, but left him again in October on a private enterprise of his own. It was nothing less than the seizure and conquest of Edessa beyond the Euphrates, then in the occupation of an Armenian prince; this he had accomplished by March 1098, thus founding the first Latin principality of the East. Much scolding has been Baldwin's lot in consequence; but it is probable that his subsequent defensive at Edessa contributed more to the success of the Crusaders at Antioch than his presence at the siege would have contributed. Tancred meanwhile was conquering Cilicia either for himself or for Bohemond. By mid-October all except Baldwin were drawing to the siege of Antioch. The Armenians were honourable and friendly, much more so to us than to the Greeks, from whose orthodoxy they had suffered many things, and we were often able to leave Armenian garrisons in our conquests; but for the Armenians, we should have starved altogether during the siege of Antioch. We now lose the good Fulcher, who has gone off with Baldwin to Edessa; Raymond and the *Gesta* remain our best authorities.

Antioch, which the Greeks had only lost in 1085, was, says Raymond, so strong that it would not fear the assaults of the whole human race;[1] but in it, as in many places in Syria, there was a large Christian, or only recently renegade, population. Its walls, originally the work of Justinian, had been well maintained, and the distance, fifteen miles, from its little port at the mouth of the Orontes made communication with the sea quite

and dispersed Christian communities in Asia Minor, not yet assimilated by the Turkish conquerors or converted to Islam, undoubtedly proved of assistance to the Crusaders.

[1] Cap. v. The *Gesta* (chap. xxxii.) gives a wonderful account of its wall and towers.

difficult enough for the Crusaders. The three methods of attack on a fortress known at that time, and for long after, were the mine, the battering-ram of various shapes, and the movable tower built to overtop the walls and to let down a plank bridge on to them. Mining was of little use in the rocky soil of Syria. The catapult, under many different names and by several different mechanical forces, could shoot huge rocks at the defenders, but could do but little damage to the magnificent fortifications of the Syrian cities, most of which contained a citadel at some high point, itself protected by an outer wall. And the catapult was an engine which could only be constructed in large numbers where wood was plentiful; in Syria and Palestine there was great lack of wood.

Antioch was now held by an Emir with a powerful Turkish garrison, and it looked for help to a more powerful Emir, Kerboga of Mosul, on the Tigris, as well as to Kilidje Arslan and the Emir of Aleppo. We had no siege engines, and could get none built until Genoese and Pisan fleets began to arrive, together with every breed of sea-pirate, expecting the plunder of the great city. At first we were very wasteful and devoured in a few weeks all the resources of the rich valley of the Orontes. Winter set in with starvation and killed one in seven of us; many went away in despair, and some perhaps went straight to Alexius and told him the game was up, and thus very probably prevented Alexius from sending the large Greek army that he had really intended, according to his daughter, to send. There was a servant of his called Tetigus or Taticus, 'who had neither nose nor valour,'[1] who kept on telling us lies about this army but finally ran away. But we had better allies fighting for us than Greeks; an Emir once asked Bohemond, 'who are all those men in shining white armour on white horses who always fight on your side?' 'They are legions of martyrs led by Saints George, Demetrius, and Maurice,' replied the Norman, 'but whence they get their horses you must

[1] 'Naribus truncus et omni virtute,' Raymond, cap. viii.; *Gesta*, xvi., 1.

ask my chaplain.'[1] Considerable relieving forces from Aleppo and Damascus (all Syria was by now broken up into Emirates, and this had allowed the Fatimites actually to reoccupy Jerusalem itself in 1096 or 1097) were defeated in February and March; so were all the sallies of the garrison. But the ominous news of the gathering of Kerboga's great host reached us from Baldwin in Edessa.

Bohemond in fact was playing a deep game; he had established relations with renegades inside the city, but he would not make use of them until he had won over all the leaders to consent that he should have the principality of Antioch for himself, despite any oath he might have sworn to Alexius. So he was sulking or pretending to sulk in his tents. It was only the certainty of the approach of Kerboga that induced the rest, all but Raymond of Toulouse, to consent. Then at last, 4th June 1098, a tower was scaled, and the city, all except the lofty citadel, was won. The siege had lasted from October 1097 to June 1098. For the booty taken, says Raymond, imagine it as great as you can, and then far more than that.[2] Three days later Kerboga appeared and besieged us in our turn; he had wasted three weeks in trying to tear Edessa from valiant Baldwin, and this delay had been our salvation. Godfrey beat off his first attacks, but the last three weeks of June brought a terrible trial. Kilidje and the Emirs of Aleppo and Damascus joined Kerboga, and their armies filled all the plain outside the city; happily for us each of them was jealous of the other, and all were jealous of Kerboga; it is quite probable that Aleppo was actually prepared to desert if it should come to a great fight. But we had wasted, as we were too apt to do, the food within the city in the first three days. The desertions set in again; Stephen of Blois slipped over the wall by a rope, went by sea to Alexius, and confirmed his irresolutions. We must not be too hard on Alexius; he had good

[1] Robert of Saint-Rémy, v., 4. The appearance of these three particular saints on our side, repeated by many plagiarists, is originally narrated in the *Gesta*, xxix., 5 (Hagenmeyer, pp. 374, 375).

[2] Cap. xii.

reason to distrust the Crusaders, above all Bohemond, and he was busy re-establishing, and with good effect, Greek power in Western Asia Minor after the Western knights had driven the Turks before them. But certainly this made him resemble that intelligent little animal the jackal in the tracks of the lion. As things got worse in Antioch[1] the Christians asked Kerboga leave to retire with their lives, but his answer was 'Death or Islam.' And again we offered ordeal by combat, five, ten, twenty, or a hundred a side; this he also scornfully and wisely rejected. Finally miracle came to our aid. A priest called Stephen had a vision, in which the Christian army was scolded for its wickedness with pagan women, *unde immensus fetor ascendit in cœlum.* A poor peasant (or some say a monk) called Peter Bartholomew had another vision, that the Holy Lance which had pierced our Lord on the Cross[2] was buried in a certain church at Antioch; this he confided to Count Raymond, and the count's chaplain, our chronicler Raymond of Agiles, was one of the twelve persons present at the search for it. He shows us Peter jumping barefoot into the hole and digging frantically, like Dousterswivel in the *Antiquary*, the assistants all praying in the dark church, the sudden glint of steel among the debris, and the drawing out of the relic, 'which I kissed devoutly.' It was carried in the Legate's troop by the historian Raymond himself, and protected us all; even the horses were refreshed by its presence.[3]

[1] 'We ate our horses and asses' (*Gesta*, xxiii., 4, p. 335); a little later, 'we boiled their skins and ate them,' *ibid.*, xxvi., 5, p. 352.

[2] For other holy lances, see Vol. I., p. 329 and *note.*

[3] Raymond, cap. xvii. Anna Comnena (xi., 6) mixes up Peter Bartholomew with Peter of Amiens (whom she contemptuously calls 'their bishop'). Also she calls the relic τὸν ἅγιον ἧλον—the sacred *nail*, probably meaning a nail of the cross. There was a 'Holy Lance' preserved at Constantinople, and she did not, of course, admit the existence of any other. There was much scepticism, especially among the Normans, who were jealous of Count Raymond; Bohemond scoffed openly at the relic. Peter Bartholomew afterwards went through an ordeal of fire, like to that of the companions of Savonarola, to prove the truth of his discovery, but he doubted in the midst of the fire, and *therefore* died of his burns.

Bohemond might be sceptical about Holy Lances, but he was becoming a good tactician, and was a valiant knight in the field, and on 28th June, the eve of Peter-and-Paul's day, being elected commander for fourteen days only, he planned and carried out a great sally against Kerboga's host, which was seething with discontent and treachery, though for lack of horses we had to mount many of our knights on asses, and to send hundreds more into the field on foot. Kerboga's main army fled in utter rout, and abandoned the whole of its rich camp to the Christians; but the troops of Kilidje Arslan attacked Bohemond in the rear, and gave him great trouble till they saw that Godfrey and the Legate had routed Kerboga. In the eyes of Raymond of Agiles the victory was unquestionably due to the Holy Lance, and to the fact that our clergy accompanied our knights as they sallied forth, and made procession chanting psalms while the battle went on.

The siege produced among other things a considerable crop of songs in old French, and of some of these Peter of Amiens was made the hero; as a matter of fact Peter had once fled from Antioch, and had been brought back by Tancred by the scruff of his neck as a useful 'holy man.' Pestilence had probably begun before the victory and was rife after it; the Legate, of whom we know nothing but good, died of it, and his loss was severely felt. Hugh of Vermandois was sent away to Alexius with the news of victory, and, as he did not return, he was always (perhaps unfairly) reckoned with Stephen of Blois as one who had 'run away'; he had fought valiantly in the battle of 28th June.

The army now dispersed into small contingents in search, it must be confessed, of plunder; but the smallest detachment was received with submission, for the spirit of the Moslem had been badly broken by the result of every serious engagement as yet fought. Thus, while Godfrey was conquering in the direction of his brother towards Edessa, Raymond was fiercely demanding that Bohemond should restore Antioch to the Greeks; but most of the

Crusaders were for the Norman prince, who after all had deserved well of his fellows, and so Bohemond was left in possession of the great city. Raymond therefore marched away to Tripoli, which he marked for his own share of the spoil, in November 1098; endless quarrels and sieges, the worst being those of Marra and Arka, and alternations of famine and riotous abundance, filled the winter and spring 1098-1099; messages arrived from Alexius saying that he was coming, and begging us not to start south for the Holy City before midsummer, and Raymond pleaded that this course should be adopted. But the mass of pilgrims, eager to fulfil their vows, thought otherwise; they were weary of the quarrels of their leaders, and compelled Raymond, who still somehow contrived to appear as the most important person in our hosts, to follow (13th May). Godfrey came back just in time to accompany us. The Syrian Christians of the Lebanon told us of three roads, and we chose the worst of these, that by the coast. St George, who appeared as a young man of fifteen, was our guide on the last stages of the journey.[1] Even then we had perhaps twelve thousand fighting men,[2] and no doubt as many non-combatants with us. The Moslem garrisons in the coast-cities, Tyre, Sidon, Beyrout, Acre, and others, dared not hinder us, and some of them supplied us with provisions. It was a great disappointment to us to find that the Fatimite Caliph (*Rex Babyloniorum*, as Raymond always calls him) with whom we had frequently been in friendly communication, had taken advantage of the Turkish civil wars to recover Jerusalem and Southern Palestine for himself.

On the 7th June the Holy City was sighted; Tancred and Baldwin of Bourg (nephew of Godfrey and the elder Baldwin, and afterwards King Baldwin II. of Jerusalem) galloped past it and into Bethlehem with the

[1] Raymond, cap. xxxii.-xxxiii.

[2] Of these, probably very few indeed had horses; there would be little difference by this time between a dismounted knight and a stout foot-soldier.

dawn, to the joy of the inhabitants of that wholly Christian village.[1] We ought to have bared our feet as we approached Jerusalem, indeed it was not till we had made barefoot procession round the walls that we were allowed to succeed.[2] But though the Egyptian garrison was little over a thousand fighting men, and could have armed, at best, treble its own number of Moslem, thirty-eight days of siege and thirst still lay before us. The dust and heat were terrible. There was neither water to drink (except the little pool of Siloam, soon encumbered with corpses and filth), nor wood for siege-engines till some was brought by Genoese ships to Jaffa, forty miles away, and some from Nablous (Samaria), which is just about the same distance. Then two great siege towers were built, Saracen prisoners being employed in the task, and were moved up to the walls. The final storm was on 15th July. Of the leaders, Tancred and Godfrey were the first upon the walls; 'the blood they spilt that day is scarcely credible,'[3] especially in the 'Temple' and Solomon's porch. Count Raymond entered about the same time at another corner of the city. The massacre lasted far into the next day, and has obtained a celebrity too well known in history and unfortunately irrefutable. Fulcher says that after the massacre each soldier simply took the first house he found and appropriated it. He was not at the siege, but, when he arrived with his master Baldwin, he says[4] the whole city and environs still stank of Saracen corpses, which is a sufficiently astonishing statement, seeing that the date of Fulcher's arrival was certainly not earlier than November. But we, when we had washed off our first blood, went and knelt with tears of joy at all the Holy places of Christ's passion; for most of us indeed our task was done, our incredible feat of endurance and valour performed, and our reward hereafter was assured. Four out of every five of us had fallen by

[1] Fulcher, i., 18.
[2] Raymond, cap. xxxvi.
[3] *Ibid.*, cap. xxxviii.
[4] Fulcher, i., 20.

the way, and the bones of our lost companions whitened every road from Cologne to Jerusalem; but they too had died 'on pilgrimage,' and would not wholly fail of their guerdon:

> If a bridge of hearts trampled and gory
> May span for the victors the foss,
> When they chant their Te Deum in glory
> It's little they'll reck of our loss.

But for the leaders the task was in fact only just begun. They had to make a government and to found another Christian state. The clergy wished to erect only a Latin Patriarchate and make its holder actual sovereign; but all the laymen were for a lay king, and William of Tyre,[1] who gives a very ugly picture of the morals of our clerics, confesses that the laymen were right. He no doubt had the true tradition when he spoke in the highest terms of Godfrey, the noblest of all the leaders who was also so strong that he could cut off the head of a camel at one blow. Raymond, to whom the first offer was made, declined the crown; perhaps he knew what it would cost him to defend it, when the majority of the host should have gone home. Godfrey also refused to be called king, but on 24th July consented to be named 'Protector of the Holy Sepulchre,' and, though on Godfrey's death in the following summer Baldwin took an actual crown, the Holy Sepulchre itself was always reckoned to be the real sovereign. The True Cross had, of course, been discovered (in a church, and deep underground) very soon after the capture of the city.

So, with the conquest of the land still almost all to make, ended the First Crusade. Its story seems to me to have a fascination which none of the later expeditions, certainly not the far better known one of Richard I., have. Four strips of territory had been recovered for Christendom,[2] and there were good hopes of linking them up into

[1] Bk. ix., caps. 5-9.

[2] Jerusalem, Edessa, Antioch, and those parts of Western Asia Minor which were being recovered by Alexius operating from Nicæa.

one piece. For this end, however, three things were necessary: first, a cordial co-operation of Greeks and Latins; secondly, complete co-operation among the Latins themselves; and thirdly, a great and constant increase of the strength of the Latins in the Levant. From the native Syrian population, or from any admixture of Latin blood with it, nothing was to be hoped at all. There was such admixture, and its offspring got the nickname of *pullani*[1] (which was apt to be extended to all Latins born in Syria), but such persons were ineffective and were heartily despised by the true Crusader. There was, of course, even less hope of converting any serious portion of the fighting Moslem. Thus there could be no true nation-making, and the Holy Land could at best remain only a military colony, constantly dependent on reinforcements from the West. There was, indeed, no lack of such reinforcements, but few knights could be induced to stay. Jerusalem itself was almost an empty city, and the early kings had to repeople it by drawing native Christians from other places. At the same time there never seems to have been any lack of provisions; trade with the natives, even with those of the hostile faith, began at once, and increased during every year of the existence of the colony.

Godfrey had to fight one fierce battle in the first month of his reign. The 'King of Babylon,' or rather the Vizir of the Fatimite Caliph, gathered a large army at Ascalon, in such force, says the author of the last few pages of Raymond's chronicle, that if they had all spat upon us they would have drowned our camp.[2] These Egyptians were not nearly such formidable foes as the Turks, they had few light cavalry and few horse-archers, and they relied mainly on companies of Soudanese footmen

[1] The etymology is uncertain; it is sometimes written *polini*. The chronicler, William of Newburgh (iii., 15, Rolls Series, 82, i., p. 254), says they resemble the Saracens both in faith and morals, and are neutral in the war between them and the Christians.

[2] In reality perhaps only double the Christian forces, which were in the battle some twelve hundred knights and some nine thousand footmen; throughout the Crusades we must allow for constant rehorsings of knights, as well as for frequent loss of horses.

and on mailed cavalry armed with spears, no match at all for our knights. Godfrey routed them in an hour, and the effect of the battle was an enormous increase of prestige for the Crusaders. But Ascalon was untaken, and remained so till 1153, a constant thorn in the side of Jerusalem; whenever the kings were absent, helping the weaker Christian states in the north, their capital was exposed to ravages from the garrison of Ascalon. The north, indeed, was always in danger. Bohemond was the ablest of the Crusaders, and he had the warlike Armenians from whom to draw help. But he was menaced on both sides; from Aleppo, which was never taken at all (and Aleppo could draw help from Mosul and Bagdad), and from the bitter hostility of Alexius, who now actually seized Laodicea-of-Syria, and was conquering the whole corner of Cilicia. Count Raymond, with his eyes on Tripoli (which he didn't live to take[1]), was much more ready to help Alexius than to help Bohemond; even when Tripoli fell to us it was constantly threatened by Damascus, while Edessa, the distant Eastern outpost beyond the Euphrates, was threatened by everyone at once, and was never for a moment in safety till its loss in 1144. Its occupation, invaluable for the moment of 1098-1099, proved to be a mistake in the long run.

When the majority of the crusading host went home after the Easter feast of 1100, Godfrey and Tancred were left with far too few men to hold the new conquest, but they set themselves valiantly to work. Tancred got hold of Tiberias, and received it as a fief of Jerusalem; but his whole permanent fighting force was little over eighty knights, while Godfrey may have had three hundred knights and a thousand footmen; with these he was able to hold Jaffa and Ramleh,[2] which needed a garrison of a hundred knights, and he was able, in his brief year of rule, to compel several Emirs, including him of Arsuf, to pay tribute. He had

[1] Raymond died in 1105. Tripoli was taken in 1109 and went successively to his son and his grandson.

[2] Between Jaffa and the capital; one used to change horses there, on a fairly good driving road, before the railway was opened.

troubles with his clergy; his first patriarch, Arnulf (formerly chaplain to Robert of Normandy), was a bad man, and, when Baldwin and Bohemond came as pilgrims to Jerusalem a little before Christmas 1099, the latter got his friend Daimbert or Dagobert, Archbishop of Pisa, chosen in Arnulf's place. It was no good exchange, for Dagobert at once wanted to play pope and to flout all lay authority. Thus, when Godfrey died in July 1100, the patriarch wished to lay hands on the civil power, probably until Bohemond could arrive. But the knights, mostly, one must suppose, Godfrey's own Lorraine men, held stoutly for Godfrey's own nomination, that of Baldwin of Edessa; and, as Bohemond was captured by an Emir in his first attack on Aleppo, they prevailed. Clever and valiant as Bohemond was, there is no reason to suppose that he would have made a better king than Baldwin I., who arrived in November, and was crowned by the unwilling patriarch on Christmas day, 1100.

Baldwin was the real creator of the kingdom—*si Pergama dextra.* His activity during his eighteen years of rule was incessant and marvellous. He deposed Dagobert, who returned to Europe and appealed to the Pope.[1] This was no longer Urban, who died at Rome on 29th July 1099, just too soon[2] to learn of the final success of the Crusade; we may reflect, if we please, that his last moments must have been full of passionate anxiety, for he probably heard of the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem. Paschal, however, was just as eager for the Crusade, and excommunicated all Crusaders who had neglected to go or who had run away from the Holy

[1] Pope Paschal actually restored Dagobert, which would have led to great confusion but for Dagobert's lucky death in 1107.

[2] Fifteen days is stated by several modern writers to have been the quickest possible passage from Acre to Marseilles, but I have been unable to verify this excessive speed from any contemporary authority. If it were true, Jaffa to Brindisi might conceivably be done in ten days; this might bring the first intelligence to a Western port on the night of 25th, for we must allow the afternoon of 15th for the courier's ride to Jaffa and his embarkation.

Land. Albert of Aix[1] gives a splendid picture of Baldwin, and ends his chronicle just after his death; but it is Fulcher, now on the spot, from whom we learn the most accurate details. Baldwin's forces quickly increased to treble or quadruple those which Godfrey had commanded, and he had the great advantage of the assistance of the fleets of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, each in rivalry with the others, eager to get commercial footing in the coast-towns of Syria. As one by one these towns fell, the Italian allies were successively rewarded with a 'quarter' in the town, freedom from tribute, and a complete or partial monopoly of its commerce. Arsuf and Cæsarea[2] fell, 1101; Beyrout and Sidon, 1110; Tyre, 1124. Unfortunately, the interest of the Italians was limited to these coast-towns, and they never rendered serious help against the Emirs of the interior. Against these nothing but a chain of castles, which Baldwin vigorously began to build, would be a protection. Pilgrims came every year in increasing numbers, and now always by sea, for the land route was after 1101[3] more ruined than ever. Easter was the great season to arrive, and some few stayed for good; others would stay at least for one summer campaign. All fighting and praying material (except papal legates) was welcome to Baldwin and his gallant knights, and the south-eastern frontier of the kingdom was extended, before the end of his reign, to Aila or Elim on the Red Sea. The great king (for I think, indeed, we should give him that epithet) fell ill, in 1118, in a little town on the Nile, on one of his swift offensive-defensive raids into Egypt, and died as he was being carried back to Jerusalem. His daring and the terror he inspired are illustrated by the fact that, on this successful raid, he had only six hundred men with him. Baldwin's great merit was that he was always ready to

[1] See especially Bk. vii., cap. 23 *sqq.*, and Bk. xii., 27.

[2] At Cæsarea was taken the emerald vase which the Queen of Sheba had given to Solomon; but the Genoese, who got it, discovered it to be made of green glass.

[3] See below, p. 367.

go and rescue the northern states, which were always in deadlier peril than his own.

Tancred, who had helped the Venetians to take Haifa, administered Antioch for the captive Bohemond,[1] and, directly Bohemond was free, the northern princes under his lead made a great combined effort against the Moslem, but were badly beaten at Carrhæ (1104), where Crassus had been beaten by the Parthians eleven and a half centuries before. Bohemond then went off to Europe to raise reinforcements,[2] preached the Crusade up and down Italy and France for three years, got in 1107 a very respectable force on foot, but then determined to use it against his old foe Alexius at Durazzo. The Greeks turned on him and finished him with Greek fire; he went back to Apulia and died worn-out in 1111. Tancred meanwhile was left at Antioch, struggling successfully against the Greeks in Laodicea and Cilicia, less successfully against the Emir of Aleppo, and it must be confessed, quarrelling far too much with the Christians at Edessa and Tripoli. He died in 1112.[3] Undoubtedly the disappearances of Bohemond and Tancred from the north, and the removal of Baldwin I. to Jerusalem had been serious losses for the northern states. Baldwin of Bourg, nephew of King Baldwin, became Prince of Edessa, and held it till he ascended the throne of Jerusalem as Baldwin II.; he too was a valiant fighter but a lesser statesman than his

[1] Alexius was most anxious to get hold of Bohemond, and paid the Emir to keep him in prison, but his ransom was paid by an Armenian prince.

[2] Anna Comnena (xi., 12, vol. ii., p. 127) tells of Bohemond's journey, which he wished to conceal, a story worthy of Dumas; he pretended to be dead and had himself conveyed to ship in a coffin with holes in it, and a dead cock to convey the requisite impression of a corpse.

[3] Professor Stevenson laments his death in words of high praise (*Crusaders in the East*, pp. 94, 95):—'While he lived the conquering spirit of the First Crusade lived on; the danger of the next generation was that they should become mere defenders of inherited possessions. . . . Tancred was a princedom-maker.' This is, however, hardly fair to Kings Baldwin I. and II., both of whom had been *conquistadores;* both were certainly 'princedom-makers.'

uncle; he was much dependent on a terrible vassal of his, Jocelyn of Courtenay, who established himself in 1101 or 1102 at Tell-Baschir, between Antioch and Edessa; he and the younger Baldwin were taken prisoners at Carrhæ when Bohemond and Tancred escaped. But, speaking generally, we may say that all these northern princes threw away chance after chance of seizing Aleppo, and at last paid the penalty when Northern Syria could only be saved by the repeated efforts of the kings of Jerusalem. Alexius paid his penalty too; the First Crusade had opened to him, even given the hostility of the new state of Antioch, the very fairest chances of re-establishing Greek power in the whole of Asia Minor; he seized some, but not all, of these chances, and in his later years (he died in 1118) spoiled the remainder by planning, instead, a reconquest of Italy, to which the quarrels of Henry V. and the popes appeared to open a door. Naturally the Turks regained ground the moment that his back was turned.

Meanwhile men's hearts in Europe tingled at the receipt of the wonderful news from the East. There must, one fancies, have gone up one great cry of 'Oh, why were not we with them!' Not greed of land or of plunder but zeal for religion (as religion was then understood) and passion for adventure, provoked the expedition of 1101; and, in the teeth of much counter-opinion, I venture to believe that the same motives prompted every crusading movement down to the fall of Acre in 1291. The Crusade was the noblest dream of the noblest hearts of the Middle Ages. For that of 1101 almost the only authorities, neither of them eye-witnesses, are Albert of Aix and Ekkehard, but they evidently got their information from some who had been with it. The leaders were the Archbishop of Milan, the Duke of Burgundy, Welf of Bavaria, William Duke of Aquitaine (a naughty, worldly, humorous troubadour), Hugh of Vermandois, and Stephen of Blois, who had both[1] run away on the First Crusade; at Constantinople they met old Count Raymond of Toulouse.

[1] But see above, p. 357.

They came through Hungary and the Balkans, and behaved badly there and worse at Constantinople. Whether Alexius got any oaths of fealty out of them or no, is not clear; they moved across Asia Minor in three bands; the first, which took the northern road to Ancyra, had, apparently quite against the advice of Alexius, the mad idea of marching straight upon Bagdad; much good it would have done them had they got there! But they reached Ancyra in fourteen days—wonderful marching, and one is surprised at the pace at which armies could sometimes move; they took the town and gave it to the Greeks; then somewhere east of the Halys, perhaps near Amasia, they met in July a great Seljuk army which cut them to ribbons. Only a few escaped to the Black Sea port of Sinope, and, of these, fewer regained Constantinople. A second detachment turned south at Ancyra to the Iconium-Heraclea road, and met a similar fate in the Taurus mountains; a third, and the largest, took Godfrey's old road, but, when they heard of the previous disasters, most of them went back. A few, however, including William of Aquitaine and Welf, struggled through to Tancred at Antioch. Raymond, who probably had not accompanied them, came by sea from Constantinople to Antioch to recommence his attacks on Tripoli. It was surely a mistake of Tancred and Baldwin of Edessa not to fall on the rear of the Turkish armies which were routing this crusade.

It would be wearisome as well as an intricate matter to trace the descent of the principalities of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli, and, except so far as we shall come across their holders in the remainder of the story, I shall not mention their names. One of the evils of feudal custom was the frequent descent of lands to heiresses, and one great misfortune of the Latin colonies in the East was the enormous crop of heiresses and minorities which this custom there produced. Men died fast and women married often; each successive marriage of each heiress was apt to put a new husband in possession of her lands and of the guardianship of her sons; and too often these husbands

(and their wives) behaved as if they were back in Europe with no close *Hinterland* of hostile Moslem ready to take advantage of their mistakes and quarrels. The succession to the crown of Jerusalem itself soon came to be determined wholly by heiresses.

Baldwin II., 'of Bourg,' after 1100 of Edessa, was in Jerusalem when his uncle died in 1118, and was at once elected king. He had been quarrelsome as Prince of Edessa, but he became an active and brave king, though he had neither the fire nor the statesmanship of Baldwin I. In his reign of thirteen years two points stand out; first the rise of a really strong line of Emirs at Mosul, of whom the earliest was Zengui (Imadeddin);[1] this heralded the Moslem reaction which culminated in the conquests of Saladin; and secondly, the creation of the two great orders of knighthood, the Templars and the Hospitallers. The first of these two orders was founded by Hugh of Payens in 1119; their earliest object was only to protect pilgrims on their way to the Holy Sepulchre, which shows how unsafe at the best of times the roads must have been; their first title was 'poor Knights of Christ'; their later name came from their lodging hard by the Mosque of Omar (the Temple) at Jerusalem. The Patriarch of Jerusalem received their first vows, which were monastic-military. St Bernard's uncle Andrew was one of the first six knights.[2] King Baldwin sent Hugh to France in 1127 with a letter to Bernard, and, at the Council of Troyes in 1128, a *regula* or rule was drawn up, and afterwards presented to pope and patriarch for sanction.[3] It was practically the Benedictine rule of poverty, chastity,

[1] I cannot treat my readers to learned spellings either of 'Imad ed-din Zanki' or of other Arabic words. 'Sanguinus' (*sic*) is William of Tyre's highly appropriate name for this Emir; he was indeed a man of blood.

[2] To him is addressed one of the saint's last letters in 1153 (Letter 288 in Migne's order): 'I long to see you before I die, though I fear to ask you to leave the Holy Land; yet perhaps if you came you might get recruits for your order.'

[3] The form of this *regula* has been attributed to Bernard, but there is no proof that he drew it.

and obedience to the 'Grand Master,' with the additional duty of fighting for the Holy Land. St Bernard's *Liber ad Milites Templi de Laudibus Novæ Militiæ*[1] is a sermon addressed to the first Grand Master (Hugh himself). It is interesting as showing the belief that the 'Temple' was actually the Jewish Second Temple, for the good saint seems to have forgotten Titus; also as expressing Bernard's own somewhat unusual view that pagans ought not to be killed if there were any other way of disarming their hostility. He forbids the knights all sport or games, even hawking, and all fine clothes and shining arms; they are to be *nunquam compti, raro loti.* Wicked men, he says, flock into their order, and the miracle of their services is the greater for their wickedness; then, with one of his pretty quips, 'Egypt (*i.e.*, Europe) is glad at their departing, Sion of their protection.'

The idea of such an order 'caught on' at once, and Hugh was able in 1129 to lead back a large body of knights to the Holy Land. William of Tyre[2] says that, when he is writing, there are three hundred of them, and he was probably understating their number. The order of St John of Jerusalem, which outlived its prouder rival by many centuries, and is still nominally alive, rested on an older foundation, of the year 1070, by a citizen of Amalfi, who instituted a hospital for sick pilgrims. Down to 1120 it was, though with considerably added riches, little more than this, and it was really the example of the Templars that induced its Master, Raymond de Puy, to give it, soon after 1120, a monastic-military constitution. Both orders rapidly developed into frontier-guards in all the Syrian colonies, and, during their early careers, exercised the most useful vigilance in their numerous castles.[3] Stubbs, indeed, in reviewing the whole condition of the

[1] In Migne, vol. clxxxii.

[2] xii., p. 7.

[3] Perhaps the most famous are Safed and Tortosa of the Templars, Markab and the Northern Kerak, or 'Krak des Chevaliers,' of the Hospitallers, these last being frontier defences of the county of Tripoli.

colony,[1] calls them the only sound element in the country; 'they procured a constant succession of fresh and healthy blood from Europe, they were not liable to the evils of minorities, their selfish interests were bound up with the strength of the kingdom.' But, on the other hand, the enormous riches, which the piety and policy of the Western kings and nobles showered upon them in every country of Europe, made them far wealthier than the crown of Jerusalem, and constantly disobedient to its later wearers. In the thirteenth century their excessive devotion to the Pope constantly brought them into collision with the lay power. And one of the causes of the destruction of the Order of the Temple at the beginning of the fourteenth century, though not perhaps the chief cause, was that its knights had become, in every country of Europe, part of the 'foreign garrison' of the Pope. More conspicuously than other Christians, the Templars considered that they need 'keep no faith with infidels,' and they broke truces by the score. The crisis of 1187 which led to the loss of Jerusalem was precipitated by the selfish policy of the Grand Master of the Temple, who was largely responsible for the elevation of the incompetent King Guy to the throne at that date. To the last, however, they fought valiantly and continually, which was more than the native barons of the colony in the third generation always did.

Baldwin II., on becoming king, at once made over his old principality of Edessa to Jocelyn of Tell-Bashir, and steadily continued his uncle's policy of sending aid to the northern states, *e.g.* he saved Antioch for the son of Bohemond. But in 1123 he and Jocelyn were both captured by an Emir near Edessa, and the king was only released after taking an oath, which he probably intended, even when taking it, to break, and for breaking which he obtained 'absolution' from the Patriarch. This set a bad example, too often followed in Eastern as well as in Western history. Mahommetans broke their oaths too; but, as they had no priests invested by ordination with the power of absolution, they lacked the advantage of a clear conscience when they

[1] Introduction to the *Itinerarium*, Rolls Series, pp. cvi., cvii.

broke them. Baldwin at once proceeded to lay a four months' siege to Aleppo, but in vain. In 1127 Imadeddin became Emir of Mosul by grant from the Caliph of Bagdad, and at once set himself to subdue all the rival Emirs of Syria, as a preliminary to attack upon the Christians; he took Aleppo and Carrhæ, and very nearly took Damascus, which was also threatened, and perhaps ought to have been more threatened, by the Christians from the south and west as well. We did, indeed, capture Banias, at the head of the Jordan under the snows of Hermon, and built there the magnificent castle whose ruins every traveller visits on the journey from Jerusalem to Damascus. But an idea began to be current that it would be unwise to press Damascus too hard; it might be a useful buffer state between us and Aleppo-Mosul. And this policy ended in rendering of no effect the efforts of Louis VII. on the Second Crusade in 1147. Baldwin II. died in 1130 or 1131.[1] Jocelyn died immediately after the king, and was succeeded in Edessa by his son, Jocelyn II.

Baldwin, who left several daughters, was succeeded by Count Fulk of Anjou (grandfather of our Henry II.), aged forty,[2] who had married his eldest daughter, Millicent or Melisenda. Fulk had now been three continuous years in Syria, had done well, and was unanimously chosen king. His task, however, was a fearful one, and quite as much from the feuds between the Christians[3] as from the enmity of the Moslem; Imadeddin was still holding his hand off from the Latins. With the exception of him, we see that

[1] The received date is 1130. Professor Stevenson, whose speciality is chronology, decides for William of Tyre's date (Will. Tyr., xiii., 28), 21st August 1131.

[2] Fulk had inherited Anjou in his early manhood (1109); his first appearance at Jerusalem was in 1120; he gave his European fiefs to his son Geoffrey in 1129.

[3] Between the clergy as well as between the princes; there was incessant strife between the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. And also between Church and State in each colony; the Prince of Antioch once tied his poor old patriarch in the full sun and covered his bald head with honey.

all the Emirs were even worse divided among themselves than were the Christian princes; they were constantly ready to help Christians against their own co-religionists. But in 1135-1136 Imadeddin threw off his moderation, and swept all the country west of Aleppo, almost to the walls of Tripoli and Antioch; he even plundered Laodicea. Hardly was this over when, in 1137, the emperor, John Comnenus, who had been vainly trying to marry a son to the heiress of Antioch (she married instead the greedy and dangerous Raymond of Poitou), swept into Cilicia with a large Greek army, bombarded Antioch, and forced Raymond to acknowledge him as its overlord.[1] The next emperor, Manuel, played a similar game in 1143-1144, and compelled the princes of Antioch and Edessa to accept his suzerainty. Imadeddin was not slow to profit by such an unfortunate situation; and, when he had been finally disappointed of Damascus by a treaty which its Emir made with King Fulk in 1140, he recouped himself by pouncing, in 1144, on Edessa and massacring its garrison to a man. It was this loss which roused the West to the Second Crusade.

Meanwhile, in the south, Fulk's reign had been peaceful, indeed too peaceful; he quite failed to appreciate the necessity for constant succour to the northern colonies. It was perhaps natural that the Syrian barons of this generation should regard the state of constant war as an evil to be avoided, and should wish to live at peace with their neighbours, even if these were infidels. Here, however, they were not only false to the whole spirit of 'Crusade,' but wrong in policy as well. The fighting Orders and the adventurers who arrived from Europe, if

[1] Nicetas of Colossæ, the Greek historian, a high official at Constantinople (quoted in Michaud, *Bibliothèque*, iii., 402), says that John's death in 1143 was a punishment for this attack on another Christian power. Certainly the attack was the worst policy possible. Yet in his own sphere John had done well against Turks in Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, and had won almost everything west of the Halys. In his last year he announced to Fulk his intention of coming with a great army 'as a pilgrim' to Jerusalem, and Fulk was sorely put to it to give him a civil answer.

they did not always act from better motives than lust of war and of conquest, yet realised that the colony could never be safe except at the price of constant victory, and of extension up to the desert frontier. Professor Bury[1] fixes on the year 1143 as the apogee of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Fulk's greatest trouble was with the garrison of Ascalon, constantly reinforced from Egypt. To check this he built at Tell-es-Safieh the castle of Blanche-Garde.[2] Further east, Montreal near Petra and Kerak in Moab, both perhaps begun by Baldwin I., watched the route through the Hauran from Damascus to Egypt; Fulk rebuilt both, and added a chain of castles to link these up with Banias. Commerce, agriculture, and viticulture began to flourish within the boundaries of the kingdom, and a sort of nation began to arise, of mixed blood, but, with the exception of the Italians in the ports, wholly of French speech and customs. According to William of Tyre[3] Baldwin II. had already given a 'charter of commune' to the citizens of Jerusalem, but we have no means of knowing how the *pullani* managed their municipal government. The riches of the ports increased fabulously during the reigns of the next three kings; the commerce of East and West met in them, especially in Acre, and this was considerably to the prejudice of Constantinople and of Egypt. We can see clearly that the Venetians, who fattened most on this commerce, became less dependent on their connection with the Bosphorus, and so less averse to a quarrel with the Eastern Empire. The customs paid at the ports swelled the revenues of the kings of Jerusalem to a great sum, and the pious gifts of the West swelled them even more. The colony might in fact be likened to some popular charitable institution of to-day which can, as the phrase goes, 'command any amount of money.' The art of the few ruins left is wonderful, and the great castles have been the marvel of all succeeding ages.

[1] Bury's Gibbon, vi., 314 *note*.

[2] What a name! how it rings of drawbridges and chain-mail!

[3] xii., 15.

The celebrated 'Assizes of Jerusalem,' which have been variously ascribed to Godfrey and to Fulk, are only known to us from the version of John of Ibelin, probably compiled about 1255 in Cyprus; and even his text we possess only in Cypriot editions of 1368 and 1531. For it was to Cyprus (won from the Greeks by our Richard I.) that the relics of the Christian colony transplanted the government, and there the House of Lusignan (collaterally descended from the last king of Jerusalem) maintained itself for two centuries after the loss of Palestine. It is, therefore, a fair inference that the law of Cyprus, as we have it in these codes, represented something very like the law of the lost kingdom. Traditionally, it was an exact reproduction of a code which had existed there, but this is extremely unlikely. No 'feudal code' existed in Europe at the dates of the first three crusades, and it is most probable that John of Ibelin simply collected and codified the customary jurisprudence built up by the early kings from Godfrey's time onwards. William of Tyre in two passages[1] indicates customary law as that of the old kingdom. But Stubbs, both in his Introduction to the *Itinerarium*,[2] and in his *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*,[3] clearly holds that the Cypriot code did represent a much earlier state of things: 'the assizes of Jerusalem lay like a crystal block, a model of usages incapable of enforcement and incapable of growth' (*i.e.*, in thirteenth-century Cyprus). The real point about the assizes is that they definitely lay down universal and perpetual military service from each knight holding a knight's fee, and from each barony a definite number of knights, to be on such perpetual service. There was a feudal court of barons (*haute cour*), with a jurisprudence separate from that of the *cour des bourgeois* or court of doomsmen. The experiment, that is, the transplantation of a whole polity, so completely Western

[1] Will. Tyr., xvi., 2, and i., xix., 2. In the former passage he speaks of *jus consuetudinarium quo regnum regebatur orientale*, and says that Baldwin III. knew it well; in the latter, that in the same *jus* Amaury was second to no one.

[2] P. xc. *sqq.*

[3] Pp. 166, 168.

in origin, to a land and a climate so totally different, and among a populace so mixed in blood and so devoid of any polity of its own, must have been extraordinarily interesting for any intelligent, legal-minded contemporary to observe in working. Doubtless there were such persons, but unfortunately they have left us no record of their observations. We know, however, that in the principality or kingdom of Jerusalem itself, there were four principal baronies, Galilee, Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Hebron, each owing a definite number of soldiers; that the total complement thence owed did not exceed six hundred knights and five thousand foot soldiers; that Antioch and Edessa were not, but that Tripoli was, feudally subject to Jerusalem, and that Tripoli owed two hundred more knights.[1] And that is about all we do know for certain. As regards the largest number ever put in the field by a union of all the Christian hosts, we have, of course, a conflict of testimony between the Christian and Arab historians: William of Tyre says that, to resist Saladin in 1183, by stripping all the garrisons, thirteen hundred knights and fifteen thousand footmen were collected.[2] On the other hand, Imadeddin[3] gives them fifty thousand at the battle of Hattin, 1187, and also says that they stripped all garrisons to gather such a number. No exactly contemporary Christian authority gives the figures at this battle, but the *Itinerarium* says a thousand knights and twenty thousand foot.[4]

The year of Fulk's death (1143) was also the year of the accession to the throne of Constantinople of Manuel Comnenus, the most 'western-minded' kaiser who ever ruled there. Manuel was easily master of his Balkan lands, and the Seljuk sultans at Iconium, whither their capital had been transferred after their loss of Nicæa

[1] See Bury's Gibbon, vi., 317, 318, and Stubbs' *Itinerarium*, in *loc. cit.*, *note* 4 of this page.

[2] Will. Tyr., xxii., 27.

[3] Quoted in Michaud, iv., 192; this historian must not be confused with Imadeddin, Emir of Mosul.

[4] Bk. i., cap. 5, p. 17; this is the reading of two of the manuscripts. Dr Stubbs, however, prints in *loc. cit.* the other reading, *milites plus quam viginti millia.*

in the First Crusade, were, till near the end of his reign, his obedient vassals; they looked in fact to him for protection against the great Emirate of Mosul-Aleppo, whose fortunes after the death of Imadeddin in 1146 began powerfully to affect the whole of the nearer East. Many small Christian princes fought in Manuel's mixed hosts, and he himself could charge like an adventurous Western knight, and cheat as only a mediæval Greek could cheat. Venice and Genoa were both on good terms with him at the beginning of his reign. But he too, like Alexius in his later years, could not keep his eyes and his hands off Italy. The steady hostility of Roger II. of Sicily and his successors gave Manuel, indeed, some excuse for this, and we have seen how it led him into close relations with the first two Hohenstaufen sovereigns in the West.[1] Yet it spoiled his really considerable chances of aiding the Crusaders, which should undoubtedly have been his true policy, a policy which he in his later years, in Egypt at least, to some extent pursued. And although Constantinople had, under his grandfather, his father, and himself, recovered much of her prosperity and re-extended her dominions, and though her riches were again very great, there was no more nation-making than before, and Manuel's taxation of his peoples was as grinding as ever. In his last decade he quarrelled with Venice, imprisoned its ambassadors, and perhaps partly blinded one of them named Enrico Dandolo (1171); he arrested all Venetians and confiscated their property. No wonder Venice took her revenge on Constantinople, with Dandolo to lead her, in 1204. Worse still, the emperor's contemptuous toleration of the Sultan of Iconium (whom he ought to have stubbed up root and branch) gave the Turkish power time to recover its strength and to inflict on Manuel's army in 1176 the defeat of Myriokephalon, only less terrible in its results than the day of Manzikert a century before. That put an end to all hope of evicting the Turks from Asia Minor.

But this is anticipating, and we must feel our way back

[1] See above, p. 146.

to the events leading up to the Second Crusade. On Fulk's death in 1143 Queen Millicent remained regent for her son, Baldwin III., aged thirteen. To her St Bernard's letter,[1] to comfort her in her grief, was addressed. She got on badly with her son, who was a good, active boy with much of the spirit of the earlier Baldwins. Edessa fell in the next year, and the southern colony could send no help to Antioch, which was in immediate danger both from Imadeddin and from Manuel. 'Ah, doctor,' said Roger at Palermo to one of his learned Moslem friends, when the news came of his own conquests in North Africa, 'what was your prophet doing not to come and help you?' 'He was helping to take Edessa,' replied the doctor; and, when the courtiers laughed, the king replied, 'Don't laugh; by God, this man knows what he is saying.'[2] Only from the West, then, could help come to North Syria, and it was probably Raymond of Antioch who first sent to beg it. The Armenian Christians also sent, and offered to Pope Eugenius III. complete reunion with Rome as the price of help.

The West listened, but hesitated. Eugenius was a much weaker pope than Urban II., and Conrad III. and Louis VII., if they were not much stronger kings than their predecessors in 1095, were at least excessively busy with their respective national concerns. The twelfth-century renaissance had begun, law and philosophy were being studied, and many things, crusades among them, were being put to the question. But above and beyond all this towered the mighty figure of St Bernard. The first suggestion undoubtedly came rather from Louis VII., who was yet in his adventurous youth, and was filled with remorse for having burned a whole churchful of people, than from Bernard; but Bernard made it his own, and the Second Crusade is rightly called St Bernard's Crusade. Louis first declared, at Christmas 1145, that he would go, and, when he found his barons and his best advisers against it, he called in Bernard; Bernard professed to

[1] Letter 354, wrongly dated in Migne to 1142.

[2] Ibn Alatir in Michaud, iv., 77.

be unable to decide, and referred the king to Eugenius. Now Eugenius, sorely harassed by 'his Romans,' was much more anxious that someone, preferably Conrad of Germany, should come and help him against those insurgents than that Western Christendom should succour Eastern. But he was wax in Bernard's hands, and by the spring of 1146 Bernard had overcome all his own hesitation and was on fire. The Easter Council at Vézelay accepted the idea with enthusiasm.[1] King and Queen would go; Queen Eleanor had an old love at Antioch, and thought she would like to see him (Raymond of Poitou, her own uncle!), and Bernard carried the fiery cross through Burgundy and France, and to the Rhine. In a marvellous letter[2] he appealed to the clergy and people of *Orientalis Francia* (by which we must understand the Rhine-land and Franconia). 'Now is your chance, you fighting men, to fight in a cause which will not endanger your souls, yet will give you your fill of fighting. You are not to begin by killing Jews or even driving them out, for they are among us as living witnesses of Christ's passion; they will be saved in the evening of Time. And none of you is to go and start before the rest, as Peter of Amiens did last time; you must elect prudent leaders and all start together.' To Mainz he wrote:[3] 'Put down that scoundrel monk Ralph of yours, who has been preaching Jew-murder; he has no licence to preach anything, least of all that.' At a meeting at Chartres, Bernard himself was elected leader, but refused the office. King Conrad

[1] In *Les Chansons de Croisade*, by J. Bediér and P. Aubry, Paris, 1909, is a charming song probably written on the eve of Louis's departure, and addressed to the knights who are going with him:—'God is pleading before you His cause against the Turks and Almoravids (!) Sanguinus and the Canaanites, who have wrongfully seized His fiefs; He has set a tournament to be fought between Hell and Heaven; and His Son has fixed the place of it to be at Rohais (Edessa).' The conception of the Deity as a feudal lord, bringing to trial-by-combat an action of *Novel Disseisin*, is thoroughly characteristic of the age.

[2] Letter 363. It is only a replica of that which he sent all over Western Europe.

[3] Letter 365.

met him at Frankfort and refused to go, but Bernard appealed to the nation against its king, and at last, by preaching at Conrad in his presence in the cathedral at Speyer, shamed him into taking the cross. South Germany, on the whole, responded warmly; the North was expressly allowed to go on with its own crusade, and to kill Wends on the Baltic instead of Moslem in the Levant.

We hear much of the German preparations from Otto, Bishop of Freising; among other things[1] he tells us how the Pope (evidently not being overburdened with ordinary worldly scruples) sent letters to the effect that 'whoever was in debt and would undertake the sacred journey with a pure heart, need pay no interest to his creditor; if he has sworn to do so, we hereby absolve him from his oath. He may mortgage his land to the Church, and such mortgage shall have priority over any previous one he may have contracted.' The result was, in the German host at least,[2] 'such a multitude of thieves that no sane person could doubt that their sudden change of heart came straight from the Most Highest.' Otto himself went on the Crusade, and led one of Conrad's divisions; but, alas, he tells us nothing of his adventures; having started Conrad down Danube from Regensburg ('river and field would scarce hold the multitude'), he tantalisingly breaks off his narrative. Conrad, at least, had connections in the East, he was Manuel's brother-in-law, and his sworn friend in Western politics; but this did not prevent Manuel from coining bad money to give the Crusaders in exchange.[3] It was all a mad mistake; the Frenchmen could have done it much better alone; the Germans brought only trouble, for they hated the Normans and loved the Greeks. Bernard, still more foolishly, added to the very large force of knights (perhaps thirty thousand fighting men in the two hosts) crowds of unarmed pilgrims, in order to get their sins remitted under such efficient protection. This also

[1] Otto, *Gesta Fred.*, i., 36. [2] *Ibid.*, i., 42.
[3] Nicetas, quoted in Michaud, iii., 406.

prevented all idea of the sea-route, for these poor pilgrims could have paid no passage-money.

Odo of Deuil, a monk of Saint-Denis, accompanied Louis VII., and dedicated his brief account[1] of the journey to Suger. He speaks of the base flattery which the Greeks showered on the king, and how tired Louis got of it; in response to some of this gas of some Greek ambassador, the Bishop of Langres burst out, 'That is enough about glory, majesty, wisdom, and piety; now come to the point.' Odo leaves us one of the best pictures of mediæval Constantinople, of its gorgeous buildings, of its terrible slums, and of the lawlessness of its mob. He was no bigot, and he admired the Greek priests' chants. Had it not been for Conrad, whom he loyally befriended and whose blunders he tried to cover, Louis would probably have gone by sea from Roger's country.[2] Manuel, of course, had no liking for the arrival of twenty or thirty thousand Western soldiers, but outwardly at least he received both kings well, and Conrad, who was a fortnight in front of Louis, far better than Louis. Whether he afterwards stimulated the Turks of Iconium to attack them, we do not know for certain, but there is nothing in Manuel's character to rebut the accusation. He hurried them across to Asia, and Conrad, splitting up his army at Nicæa, sent one quarter of it under Bishop Otto by the southern coast-road, and moved the rest with ridiculous slowness on Godfrey's old road by Dorylæum; after eleven days of it, having got beyond Dorylæum and being encompassed by clouds of Turks, as well as terrified by an eclipse of the sun, he fell back starving to Nicæa. His retreat became a rout, and he was wounded himself. Otto too had an extraordinarily bad journey up the Mæander valley, not only his boots but his feet were nearly worn through, and he almost died of cold and hunger in the mountains; finally he was routed by

[1] *De Profectione Ludovici VII. regis Francorum in Orientem*, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. clxxxv.; in Guizot, vol. xxiv.

[2] We must remember that Roger was now quite an obedient son of the Church.

the Turks near Laodicea.[1] Conrad's army seems to have become a mere wreck before it met at Nicæa the advancing French king, who kept far better discipline and was in good case in spite of far worse treatment by Manuel. Louis put a little heart into Conrad and took him on with him by the southern road, by Pergamus, Smyrna, Ephesus. Here Conrad fell ill and had to go back to Constantinople. Louis gallantly struggled on by Philadelphia to Laodicea, to Cibyra, and at last to Attalia on the Cilician coast. The effect of the recent Greek conquests was seen in that it was Christian land as far as Laodicea; there was a gap, occupied by Turks, between that and Cilicia. Louis had won a victory on the Mæander but had been badly defeated in Pamphylia. Only very strenuous discipline and the king's inexhaustible courage, good temper, and love for his knights brought them through at all. Nearly all their horses died for lack of forage. A small fleet in the very bad harbour of Attalia could take the pick of the army, but it meant leaving all the infantry behind, and against this cruel counsel the king struggled hard and long. Odo[2] tells of the frightful cost of provisions on the march, and how inhumanly the Greeks cheated us. Why did we not take food by force? Because all the towns were walled and we could not have stormed one of them. We might have taken prisoners our Greek guides and Manuel's ambassador as hostages for food, but Louis was too loyal for that. So the knights and the king sailed away for Antioch; the foot, after a gallant effort to break through Turks and mountains, had to fall back on Attalia, where the Greeks cheated most of them to death. Altogether it was a disaster on the scale of, or even more costly than, that of 1101.

Now, just about the time that Louis with his few knights came to Antioch, the government of Jerusalem had quarrelled with its one interested Moslem friend, Damascus. Nureddin, one of Imadeddin's sons, had got

[1] Laodicea, *i.e.*, of Southern Phrygia, just east of the Mæander; not to be confused with Laodicea of the Syrian coast.

[2] Bk. vii., pp. 74-75.

Aleppo, while his brother got Mosul, on their father's death. It was Nureddin, then, who was thrust forward as the chief enemy of the Latins; he was not such a bloodthirsty savage as Imadeddin, nor so faithless, but he was an even more fanatic Mussulman. What the Latins ought to have done (and Raymond of Antioch knew it) was to bend all their energies to attack Nureddin in Aleppo. What they did, in the summer of 1148, was to combine the newly landed relics of the host of Louis VII., and those whom Conrad at the same time brought by sea to Acre, with their own southern barons for an attack upon Damascus. In other words, the policy of the safe south prevailed over that of the imperilled north.

In excuse for Louis there is just this to be said, that he had to get his wife away from Antioch, where she was indulging in something more than a flirtation with her uncle Raymond, and so he hurried her[1] to Jerusalem. The worst of it all was that our own southern barons were none too anxious to succeed in the siege of Damascus. Behind its screen they had been fairly safe, and might be safe again, so long as it was in the hands of a Moslem and a rival to Aleppo; 'if we wiped *him* out we should be face to face with Nureddin. It was not *we* who had wanted the Second Crusade, and we were now only too anxious to get rid of the Crusaders. The North had wanted it, and cried aloud for it—well, let the North take it away again then.' When such policy could prevail, all unity and all real hope were at an end.

The siege of Damascus, late in July 1148, was a complete failure and was abandoned after a few days; if it had been prolonged it seems certain that Nureddin, who thoroughly grasped the need for unity among all Moslem, would have come to relieve the city. William of Tyre[2] hints at treachery and bribes from within. Conrad, in a letter to Abbot Wibald of Corvey,[3] says the barons of

[1] Will. Tyr. (xvi., 27) calls her immodest and one of the most foolish women in the world.

[2] *Ibid.*, xvii., 5, 6, 7.

[3] *Epistolæ Wibaldi* (in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. clxxxix.), No. 127.

Jerusalem led them, the Crusaders, to a side of the city which was inexpugnable and where there was no water. It is interesting to see that, during the siege, pious Moslem exposed in the great Mosque the sacred copy of the Koran, which Caliph Othman had held in his hands at the moment of his murder, just as Christians would carry in procession some sacred picture or garment of the Virgin at any time of great peril;[1] superstition was no monopoly of Christians. Indeed we can hardly say why so little effort was made by the Latins, except that they were evidently sick of their new crusading allies. There was some talk of trying Ascalon instead; but it came to nothing, and Conrad went back by sea, to Constantinople in September 1148, to Aquileia the next year; Louis stayed over Easter 1149, engaged always in prayer, and then went home *via* Southern Italy.

We have already followed the *sequelæ* of this crusade in Western Europe, but we must remember that many Frenchmen, and even old Abbot Suger, in spite of the fact that he had been opposed to that of 1147, wanted to have another expedition, in alliance with Roger, at once. In the East its main result was that Damascus, ever in fear of Nureddin, renewed its old alliance with Jerusalem. But Nureddin for the moment was engaged in attacking Antioch; he killed Raymond in battle in the summer of 1149, and King Baldwin, now of age and full of spirit, hurried north too late to save him. There was civil war between Baldwin and his mother in 1152, and the lady got the worst of it; then, after long siege, in 1153 the Templars stormed the long-coveted city of Ascalon. A great gain it was indeed to get rid of this infesting Egyptian garrison, but the advantage was perhaps counter-balanced by the fact that it led the Christians for the next two decades to turn their attention rather to the subjugation of Egypt, which was weak, than to that of Aleppo which was strong. And when in 1154 Nureddin at last took Damascus, we in the south

[1] Ibn Alatir in Michaud, iv., 95.

ought to have been in more immediate peril than we actually were. But for the remainder of the reign of Baldwin III., there was little manifestation of this peril. Nureddin patiently devoted himself to consolidation rather than to extension of his boundaries, and had more truces than wars with Jerusalem. Two things seem to have held him back, first that he genuinely feared, though as far as we can see without much reason, an advance of the Egyptian Fatimites (and in this connection we shall see later that it was not until he got Egypt that Saladin thought himself strong enough for any very big enterprise against the Latins); and secondly, that he had really good reason to fear the new, and quite prudent, alliance which Manuel contracted with Baldwin. Manuel came to Syria and gave Baldwin a daughter to wife in 1158; if he could only have refrained from bullying Antioch, there might have been quite a useful Latin-Greek combination against Nureddin, who was busy building roads, fortresses, hospitals, and inns, and establishing a regular postal service of carrier-pigeons.[1] Then in 1162 at the age of thirty-two died Baldwin III., and was succeeded by his brother Amaury, aged twenty-seven.

Ibn Alatir[2] praises Amaury as the ablest of the Christian kings, and undoubtedly he was a man of no mean intelligence. He was learned, greedy of gain, *farouche* and grim, but he was also a man of great foresight, and a swift and hard fighter. He alone of later kings really kept the Templars more or less in order; at the end of his reign he came victorious out of a contest with their Grand Master who had defied his authority. Whether his Egyptian policy was right or not is an open question.[3] If he had really conquered Egypt, or even made himself the right hand of the Fatimite caliphs (a most uncrusading,

[1] Ibn Alatir in Michaud, iv., 150. Raymond of Agiles mentions in 1099 a letter borne by a pigeon which fell into Christian hands at Cæsarea.

[2] Michaud, iv., 116.

[3] The Templars certainly were opposed to this policy, perhaps mainly from jealousy of the Hospitallers who were much trusted by Amaury.

but not a wholly impossible position for a time), what prospects might have been opened to Christendom! a reconquest of North Africa (which the Sicilians had just lost), the opening of the Red Sea route to India—in fact almost anything. Amaury made four different attacks upon Egypt between 1163 and 1168, and most historians have condemned him wholly for these attacks, carried on when Aleppo and Damascus were not only unsubdued, but being strengthened every day. Undoubtedly the result was a contest between Nureddin and Amaury for influence in, and finally for possession of, Egypt. The Fatimite caliphate had been slowly extinguishing itself for a century, and the all-important Egyptian question was, who should be vizir? A Christian vizir was unthinkable, a Christian garrison of protection not wholly so; a Roger of Sicily might have carried through such a policy. And it is evident that Amaury hesitated between this policy and that to which his continued alliance with Manuel led him, namely, a conquest of Egypt in conjunction with the Greeks. Egypt hesitated too; Nureddin had a party even at the heretical court of Cairo, and was wise enough not to dream at first of extirpating the Shiite heresy there, a course to which his own orthodoxy would naturally have allured him. When Amaury once actually did leave a small Frank garrison in Cairo, its behaviour finally threw Egypt into the arms of Nureddin, who sent his best general, Shirkuh, to be, first, captain of the bodyguard to the vizir, and then vizir himself. With Shirkuh went, or to him came, a young nephew of about thirty years of age, already a distinguished soldier of Nureddin's, named Salah-ed-din Yussuf, Joseph the 'Luck of the Faith.' It was fitting, says Bohaeddin,[1] that a Joseph should begin his great career in Egypt; and, like his prototype, Saladin sent for his father Ayub (Jacob) and brothers from Damascus to get them out of the way of Nureddin, whom he intended one day to betray. Most of my readers are familiar with stories of Saladin's large-heartedness, affability, and chivalry, and I have no contradiction to

[1] In Michaud, iv., 139.

advance to the popular view. But we must remember also that he was a man of policy and foresight, and that, if it suited him to be cruel, he could be so. He was not a fanatic, nor a man of such deep personal piety as Nureddin. And if he devoted all his energies to a *jehad* (holy war), that *jehad* satisfied his lofty ambitions as well as his zeal for the faith.[1] All this time Nureddin was largely occupied with gnawing at the principalities of Tripoli and Antioch, and with tentative hostilities against the Sultanate of Iconium. The protagonist for Antioch was the restless adventurer Reginald of Châtillon, who had married the widow of Raymond of Poitou;[2] we shall meet him again before 1187. Nureddin had a wholesome dread of provoking Manuel, who might possibly have made a great effort to save Antioch if it had been in the gravest danger; indeed it is impossible to resist the conclusion that Nureddin was over-cautious in all his later undertakings.

On two separate occasions joint expeditions against the Egyptian ports from Constantinople and Syria were planned, but on the first occasion the Latins did not wait for the Greeks, and, on the second, Saladin, who had just succeeded Shirkuh as vizir in 1169, drove them off from Damietta. In 1172 Saladin extinguished for good the Fatimite caliphate, and ordered the ritual in the Egyptian mosques to run in the name of the Caliph of Bagdad. Long, long he preserved the outward show of loyalty to Nureddin, but threw it off just before that prince died in 1174. Amaury died at the age of thirty-eight, just after Nureddin. And then for a long time, in fact for thirteen years, Saladin's hands were too full to give the *coup de grâce* to the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. He meant in the end to be lord of all Syria and all Mesopotamia, of Aleppo, Mosul, and Antioch, as well as of

[1] Bohaeddin (Michaud, iv., 367) says that Saladin 'hated philosophers and heretics,' and he leaves with us rather the portrait of a strongly formalist Mussulman than an exceptionally devout one.

[2] She was the ultimate heiress of Bohemond, and nominal regent for her son, Bohemond III.

Damascus and Jerusalem; indeed, there is some evidence that, in his later years, he intended a counter-crusade into Europe.

Not all this was granted to him. When Egypt rose against him (and for a long time it was unquiet) and called in a Norman fleet, he beat it off with ease in 1174. He took Damascus in that same year, and he proceeded with such skill and success to interfere between the various heirs of the several Emirates of Nureddin, that nearly all Moslem Syria, except Aleppo, had acknowledged his power within the next two years. But he still ruled from Cairo, and, whenever he was back there, the Latins were apt to scare him by raiding towards Damascus. Once he retaliated almost up to the gates of Jerusalem (1177), but the garrison of Ascalon gave him a dreadful beating at Ramleh, and drove him back into Egypt. Amaury had left a son of thirteen, Baldwin IV., to whom the historian William of Tyre was tutor and chancellor, and two daughters, Sybil and Isabel; young Baldwin was a leper. The rich colony of Jerusalem was so much frightened at the steady progress of Saladin, that, in 1183, it actually levied a direct tax for its own defence, a thing almost unheard of at that time in Western Europe, and the parent, no doubt, of our own, and of the French, 'Saladin Tithe' of 1188. It amounted to one *per cent.* on the property of knights and soldiers, and two *per cent.* on that of clergy and citizens.

The Latins fatally wasted these thirteen years, 1174-1187. It was not that they were degenerate or unwilling to fight as fiercely as ever, but they had an enormous line of frontier to defend, and innumerable castles to garrison, with far too few men. Up and down the Hauran road from Damascus to Arabia passed, as still passed in the youth of the present writer, the caravans of pilgrims to and from Medina and Mecca;[1] and, if they were often raided and captured from the great Crusaders' castles, especially from that of Kerak-in-Moab, they also learned to know

[1] Now, I am told, they go by rail; but I thank heaven that I never saw that desecration.

much of the weakness of their garrisons; it was Saladin's road also from Egypt. We knew that our power was on the ebb, and our antagonist knew it too. But he knew also that there was always danger of a great army of rescue from the West, and so the necessary delay before he could reduce Aleppo (1183) and Mosul (1186) must have fretted him terribly. He left Egypt for good in 1182, after fortifying its ports against a possible Greek invasion; but really after Manuel's death in 1180 he had little to fear from that quarter. Of the last Comnenians, Alexius II. made a treaty with Saladin, and was murdered by his cousin Andronicus, a cunning old fox of sixty-seven years, who proved to be too impossible a tyrant even for Constantinople. With the dethronement of Andronicus in 1185 the dynasty, after a century of very useful work, came to an end; Isaac Angelus, the rebel who succeeded, cared just nothing at all for the Christian cause, but did succeed in driving back the Norman invasion of 1185, which had all but reached his capital. Isaac recovered Thessalonica and Durazzo,[1] but he lost nearly all the Balkan Peninsula to Serbs and Bulgars. He paid tribute to the Sultan of Iconium, and made a close alliance with Saladin against the coming Third Crusade. Tageno, dean of Passau,[2] quotes a letter of Queen Sybil's of Jerusalem to Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa, who was coming on that crusade: 'Look out for poison from the Greeks and Saladin; Saladin is plotting with Isaac to poison your army; he is sending a jar of poison so strong that a man died of the smell of it when it was opened;' wild nonsense, of course, as regards Saladin, but quite in keeping with Isaac's methods.

To Jerusalem in 1176 came Reginald of Châtillon, once husband of the heiress of Antioch, who had been spending fifteen years of reflection as a prisoner in a Moslem castle, and who, when he got out, had found

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 218.

[2] *Descriptio expeditionis asiaticæ Friderici I. imperatoris contra Turcos.* See also *Chronicon Magni, Presbiteri Reichspergensis*, p. 512, Pertz, *Monumenta, Scriptores*, xvii.

Antioch, with a grown-up stepson, no place for him. He was a rash fellow, but a knight of knights for adventures and daring. He married the heiress (and castle) of Kerak-in-Moab, and just before the end he started on a glorious raid southwards to the Red Sea, with boats slung between camels. He got almost within striking distance of Medina, where he had intended to dig up Mahomet. Twice Saladin in his fury hurled himself at Kerak, but found it impregnable. Reginald was the life and soul of the last stand of the Latins, but he was a man of no prudence, and very quarrelsome. Now Baldwin IV. was under the influence of Raymond, Prince of Tripoli (the third from the Conquest), a man of much greater prudence than Reginald; the young king had spirit and intelligence, but very ill health as well as his leprosy, and, feeling the approach of his own end, he had twice married his elder sister Sybil, first to William of Montferrat, who died in 1177 leaving a baby Baldwin heir to the crown, and then in 1180 to Guy of Lusignan, the candidate of Reginald and of the Knights Templar, who were bitterly hostile to Raymond. The result was a feud which lasted till, and was greatly responsible for, the fall of the kingdom. Raymond went away to Tripoli in the sulks. Saladin had already determined (1183) that the pear was ripe, and made his first great attack on the kingdom. It was then that the great host mentioned by William of Tyre[1] was called out and took post near Nazareth. On that occasion the Latins showed the prudence which they ought also to have shown four years later; they took a strong position, left Saladin to attack if he dared, and forced him to retire from lack of food. His next two years were devoted to frontier blows without great effect; Baldwin died early in 1185, and had long been dying. Raymond, however, had been made regent before his death, and began to execute his functions for baby Baldwin V. It was he who then concluded a four years' truce with Saladin.

During that truce the Mussulman prince was absent for fifteen months in Mesopotamia, and when he came back

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 375.

to Syria it was as master of Mosul, the last of the Emirates to hold out against him. But baby Baldwin died in 1186, and Guy of Lusignan, with the aid of Reginald and the military orders, seized the crown. Raymond again went off in the sulks and began to fortify the city of Tiberias, which was his fief in the kingdom proper, began also to intrigue with Saladin for help to get reinstatement in his regency. This was the final and the fatal step, and it did not need a raid of Reginald's from Kerak, by which the truce was officially as well as actually broken, to bring on the end.

Saladin had made the most extensive preparations, and by the summer of 1187 had got together the whole forces of Aleppo, Mosul, and Damascus, probably not less than twenty-five thousand horse, against which we had a bare thousand or twelve hundred knights, but some twenty thousand footmen.[1] At the last moment Raymond of Tripoli, who was at Tiberias, sought and obtained a reconciliation with Guy, but it is hardly to be wondered at that he went into the battle a man under suspicion. His advice, however, at the beginning of July, seems to have been perfectly sound, that the Latins should let Saladin take Tiberias (his, Raymond's, own castle and city —this is in favour of his loyalty) and themselves take up a strong position without attacking him; the history of 1183 would then repeat itself. On the 2nd July Saladin crossed the Jordan and stormed Tiberias. That evening a council of war was held in our camp, and Raymond's advice was accepted that we should defend, not attack; then, in the night, Reginald and the Master of the Temple got at King Guy and persuaded him to the contrary. There was a fierce battle on the 3rd, in which the Latins were hemmed in on all sides and cut off from the water of the lake to which they had tried to break through. Our backs were to the grassy slopes of the hill of Hattin or Hittin, a few miles north-west of Tiberias, and, as we retreated up this hill on the 4th, dropping with heat and thirst in the scorching sun of July, the grass was

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 375.

set on fire and completed our discomfiture. Raymond himself and a few of his followers cut their way through and escaped; and their escape gave currency to many tales of treachery for which no proof is forthcoming. The Eastern Christian, Abdulfaragius,[1] says that Saladin connived at Raymond's escape, but on the face of things this seems most unlikely. The knights who remained fought desperately to the end. 'If you looked at the heaps of the slain you would not believe there could be any prisoners; if you looked at the multitude of the prisoners you would not believe there could be any slain.'[2] The king, Reginald, and the Master of the Temple with many knights of the two Orders were prisoners; the king was taken to Damascus and not released for a year. The Templars and Hospitallers, to the number of two hundred, and Reginald of Kerak were beheaded on the spot. Such slaughter was not an uncommon thing, and it was unquestionably good policy. It struck the requisite terror throughout the colony. Saladin looked upon the frontier castles, then nearly all in the hands of the two Orders, as mere nests of caravan-robbers. A few, but only a very few, accepted Islam to save their lives.[3]

The deed was done, the terror established, the True Cross, which had been carried into the battle, lost—and this seemed the greatest loss of all—and the colony fell almost at once. Saladin knew he must be quick, for he knew the West would thrill with horror at the news. He probably knew also that only lightning success would keep his own armies together. There is good evidence that, when the Third Crusade began, his Emirs were already weary of the war.[4] Acre, Beyrut, Sidon, Haifa, Arsuf, Cæsarea, Jaffa, Ascalon, all surrendered within a few weeks. On the coast, of places seriously

[1] Cited by Michaud, iv., 194 *note*.

[2] Ibn Alatir, in Michaud, iv., 196.

[3] There were, of course, after as well as before this, instances of Christian knights turning renegades; some of them rose to high commands under the Emirs.

[4] 'My men won't fight unless I lead them,' he told Imadeddin before Acre (Michaud, iv., 257).

attacked, only Tyre held out; Tripoli and Antioch were but weakly pressed. And Tyre would have fallen but that it found a stout defender in Conrad of Montferrat, who, sailing into Acre one morning from the West, was astonished to hear no Christian bells, but rather horns, and thought the dresses of the people on the quay looked strange; he put his helm down and ran for Tyre, which he was able to hold with ease against all Saladin's assaults, for thither every Christian who could escape, and every released prisoner, flocked. There was no forced conversion in the ports and no massacre, but there was complete confiscation of all property that could be used in war, and enforced exile of all who could pay any ransom. For those who couldn't, we must suppose slavery or abject poverty. Jerusalem was very full at the time and, when Saladin appeared before it on 20th September, was prepared to stand a short siege. It capitulated on 2nd October. There, too, all who could afford to pay a small sum were allowed to depart, and some were even escorted to the ports; the Italian sailors haggled over the price of a passage for such poor fugitives. How little the ports need have yielded, if there had been a head in each to organise defence, was shown by Saladin's complete failure to take Tyre, Tripoli, or Antioch.

With the fall of Jerusalem the period which I have set myself in the affairs of Western Europe is at an end, and it would be futile to prolong it in Syria in order to sketch the history of such a well-known event as the Third Crusade. Let us remember only that that movement was one of nations, not of popes. The whole West now felt that its honour had been outraged, and France, England, and Germany hurled themselves upon the East in vengeance. Moreover, the kings did it in a business-like fashion this time; they were not to be accompanied by thousands of unarmed penitents.[1] And everyone in the three countries who could not go was obliged to give one-tenth of his property to the cause. That, even then,

[1] Frederick Barbarossa would take no one who could not support himself for two years.

Christendom could not succeed in rescuing its holy places and merely recovered the trading ports, is not to be ascribed to any want of Christian zeal, but mainly to the impossibility of reconciling international animosities. Each nation was in fact coming to regard its own home interests as of more importance than any union of Europe against Asia. If any one point or accident in the Third Crusade determined its failure, it was not so much the quarrel of our Richard with Philip of France (most enigmatic of kings of the Middle Ages) before the walls of Acre, but the drowning of the noble old German Kaiser in a little river of Cilicia. Frederick was not only the most experienced and the most single-minded of the kings, but he was also the most practical, and his army was the best organised. He, alone of all Crusaders, had achieved the land-route with a very trifling loss, had foiled Byzantine guile (infinitely more hostile to him than to any previous expedition), had swept Turks before him in panic flight (at Iconium), and was almost at his goal. He thoroughly understood the need of co-operating with the Italian maritime cities, now after long coolness his friends; and he had quite evidently considered the possibility of having to use force both by land and sea to compel the Greeks to behave themselves.[1] Indeed, one can hardly wonder, after the experiences of the twelfth century, that any intelligent Crusader must be coming to the conclusion that Constantinople, as then governed, was a fatal obstacle to success in Syria, and that it would be well to begin by effecting some complete revolution there. Although it was mainly Venetian greed and Venetian thirst for vengeance that diverted the so-called Fourth Crusade to Constantinople, and although the 'Latin Empire of the East,' which was then set up, proved a complete failure, the principle and the idea of such a revolution do not seem to me to have been wholly misconceived.[2]

[1] See his letter to his son Henry, written at Philippopolis in November 1189, quoted in Michaud, iii., 38.

[2] The Latin Empire (1204-1261) failed to succour the Holy Land mainly (i.) because the Franks were too few in numbers; (ii.) because

Even after the failure of the Third Crusade Europe was quite ready for another serious attempt on the Holy Land. The absorption of Sicily by the Hohenstaufen would at least enable the German and the Italian movements to be combined, and only the very early death of Henry VI. prevented a most warlike and business-like expedition in 1198. Henry's son Frederick II. pledged himself by all manner of oaths to go, married the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem to get a claim on it, and at last actually went and obtained a ten years' possession of the Holy City by treaty (1229). But he went an excommunicate man, after a quarrel with the fierce old pope Gregory IX., who shouted 'pirate' and 'Mahometan' after his vanishing sails.[1] The emperor's excommunication followed him to Palestine and was hurled in his face there; the military orders not only stood aloof from him but intrigued against him; the Patriarch laid Jerusalem under an interdict because of his presence.

There was civil war after his departure. Our knights were often reduced to serve in the Moslem armies, either for bread or for lack of employment. We find them even

the union of the churches was a failure; (iii.) because there were Greek states, occupying portions of the old Greek Empire, like Nicæa and Epirus, more powerful than itself; (iv.) from the rivalry between Genoa and Venice, who fought out their quarrels in Eastern waters. Some Latin states in the Levant lasted somewhat longer. 'Another Athens did arise,' and a very strange one the feudal duchy of that name must have been, but it and the principalities of Achaia and Morea were fairly flourishing states; and another Italy stretched from Greek isle to Greek isle till the Ottoman Turks became sailors.

[1] Frederick's Sicilian policy of toleration, inherited from his maternal ancestors, the Rogers, gave the popes some colour for their accusation. One of the Moslem *Imaum* who saw him at Jerusalem gives a curious illustration of his ways; the *Kadi* (judge) scolded the *Muezzin* for having recited some verses of the Koran from a minaret of the Mosque in the emperor's presence, and Frederick asked him what he meant by such false complaisance; 'if you were to come to my country,' he said, 'I shouldn't silence the Christian priests' (Michaud, iv., 431).

serving the Sultan of Iconium; and they were so brave that the Moslem always used them as 'forlorn hopes.' In 1243 the wild Chorasmians (from the 'hushed Chorasmian waste' beyond the Aral Sea), having swept over Persia and Mesopotamia, raided Syria and Palestine, sacked Jerusalem, and killed nearly all its inhabitants; the small Emirs were forced to combine with the Christians against them. Antioch was next exposed to the Mongols, who for half a generation had been the terror of the nearer East; they ruined Persia and Bagdad, Aleppo and Damascus, and thousands of Moslem streamed away in flight to Egypt. The very poor stand that Islam made against these foes proves how far it was inferior, nine years out of ten, even to the worst form of Christianity. The last forty years of the chief Christian Syrian ports were fairly peaceful, and the commerce of Acre steadily increased in volume till its fall in 1291; Tripoli and Tyre were not far behind it in wealth. But the morals of the colony had a very evil reputation; Acre seems to have combined the vices of seventeenth-century Venice with those of Port Said and San Francisco in our own days. When St Louis after his disastrous crusade in Egypt came to Palestine and built walls for Cæsarea and Jaffa, the colony plainly showed that it had little sympathy with him. The beginning of the end came with the rise of Sultan Bibars, a sort of inferior and fiercer Saladin, about 1260; he had been originally a Mameluke slave in Egypt; he wasted up to the walls of the coast cities in 1262; he took Cæsarea and Arsuf and destroyed them to the last stone (nothing remains of them to-day). In 1268 he took Jaffa and stormed Antioch; in 1271 he took the Northern Kerak, near Tripoli. After his death in 1277 there was alternate truce and war; Tripoli stood a good siege and fell in 1289. Then all the resistance was concentrated at Acre, which held out valiantly till it was stormed in 1291.

As for Europe, the exaction of the 'tenths' for crusading purposes became in the thirteenth century a burden which it had ceased to be willing to bear. And when the popes

prostituted the sacred name of 'crusade,' first to a destruction of the civilisation of the Albigensian heretics in Southern France, and then to their own quarrels with the Hohenstaufen in Sicily, the thing became abhorred.[1] There were lofty spirits like St Louis and our Edward I. who still dreamed the dream and did the duty, but in this respect they were not of their own age. The popes of the third quarter of the century were wholly absorbed in Italian politics. Gregory X. was better; he was in Palestine when the news of his election as pope reached him, and he departed with the Psalm, 'if I forget thee, O Jerusalem' on his lips; he made a last effort to stir up the West at the Council of Lyons in 1274, but in vain. The 'tenths' continued to be demanded, rather than collected, long, long after the fall of Acre, and some of the money thus raised found its way to Cyprus, where the remnant of crusading Palestine took refuge, but most of it went into the popes' pockets.

And so the great dream was over, and the blazing sun of Syria has looked down for six centuries upon a ruined land. But upon us Children of the Roman Empire the lessons of the two centuries of effort had been by no means wasted. It would be a mistake to exaggerate the culture that Christendom brought back from the East. The culture of Islam had practically ended before the Crusades began, and it was not with its more civilised elements that we were brought in contact in Syria. But when we went from our narrow superstition-ridden homes, from our wooden or shell-keep donjons of the West, we saw new lands, towns,[2] skies, beasts, plants, houses, clothes, agriculture, weapons; we saw quite considerable relics of ancient civilisation, some of them indeed in ruins, others, like the triple wall of Constantinople, the towers of Antioch and Jerusalem, still standing; we learned that Greeks and

[1] Innocent IV. actually released from his crusading vow anyone who would fight against Frederick II. in Italy.

[2] 'Iconium,' says the Dean of Passau in 1190, 'is about the size of Cologne'; Cologne was then probably the largest city north of the Alps, and the richest.

Moslem were men of like passions with ourselves, and not mere demons; we learned toleration and even respect for ideas other than our own. And some of us returned to Europe with grave doubts about the divine right of government by popes.

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